

# INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

The World's Daily Newspaper

\*\*

Paris, Monday, June 19, 1995

No. 34,930

## Far Rightists In France Win Several Mayoral Seats

**But National Front Loses In Other Cities Where It Had Appeared Strong**

By William Drozdiak  
*Washington Post Service*

**PARIS** — French extreme-right candidates won mayoral races in Nice and three other southern towns Sunday, but the anti-immigrant National Front failed to make the dramatic breakthrough across the country that some of its supporters had predicted after a strong showing in the first round last Sunday.

The Front's xenophobic message aroused enough support to help it win the city halls of Toulon, Marignane and Orange. All three towns are in southern France, where the Front has grown rapidly in popularity by capitalizing on voter fears about a threatened surge of immigrants from North Africa.

In addition, Jacques Peyrat, a far-right candidate who quit the Front last year to run as an independent, was elected mayor of Nice, France's fifth-largest city.

But the extreme-right failed to win races in other cities where some of its strongest candidates had appeared poised for victory. The Socialists held off the Front in the southern industrial town of Vitrolles and the eastern city of Mulhouse, while a center-right alliance beat one of the far right's most attractive personalities, Marie-France Turbouis, in the wheat-belt town of Dreux, about 80 kilometers (50 miles) west of Paris.

Even though President Jacques Chirac's governing center-right alliance and the opposition Socialists mobilized enough voters to thwart the Front's ambitions, France's far right demonstrated that it could sustain its political influence with the voters even though virtually all of the country's institutions are now dominated by conservatives.

Jean-Marie Le Pen, the leader of the anti-immigrant party, blamed the "establishment" for whipping up a scare campaign to keep the Front from winning control of several cities and towns. Nonetheless, he expressed satisfaction with the steady growth of his party, which is expected to double its number of city council members across France.

In recent years, the Front has stirred consternation among the mainstream parties by making important inroads in areas where voters have expressed fears about rising crime and an influx of foreigners.

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All Blacks Storm Past England Into Rugby Cup Final

New Zealand's Jeff Wilson being tackled by Tony Underwood of England in their Rugby World Cup semifinal on Sunday in Cape Town. With four tries, Jonah Lomu led the All Blacks to a 45-29 victory and a place in the final against South Africa. Page 17.

## Pentagon's Call for Nuclear Testing Splits Clinton Team

By R. Jeffrey Smith  
*Washington Post Service*

**WASHINGTON** — Some senior Defense Department officials have proposed to renew U.S. underground nuclear tests for the first time since 1982 at levels equivalent to hundreds of tons of TNT, provoking an intense debate inside the Clinton administration. U.S. officials said last week

The proposal arises out of Pentagon concern that the world will soon agree to ban all nuclear tests, halting forever the 47-year U.S. practice of testing off-experimental blasts to test the reliability of existing nuclear arms and develop new models of these powerful weapons.

Officials at the Energy Department and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency are fighting the plan, with support

from independent arms control experts. The critics say it makes a mockery of Washington's pledge at the United Nations last month to support completion of a comprehensive test ban by 1996.

Secretary of Defense William J. Perry, Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher, Secretary of Energy Hazel R. O'Leary and other top officials are to discuss the issue at a White House meeting this week, several sources said. But a decision is likely to be postponed until the plan is examined more carefully, they said.

A report by the Jasons, a group of physicists who advise the government on military matters, is due by the end of July. Some officials have also advised holding up a decision until the international furor provoked by France's recent decision to conduct a few more nuclear tests over the next year dies down.

Word of the Defense proposal has

stirred concern among foreign diplomats, who last month negotiated the extension of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, which calls on nonnuclear weapons states to forswear acquisition of such arms in exchange for a policy of restraint by the five declared nuclear powers.

The Sri Lankan ambassador, Jayantha Dhanapala, who presided over the conference on the nuclear pact, said at a disarmament conference in Japan last week that there has been "disturbing reports of a Threshold Test Ban Treaty being foisted on us in the guise of a comprehensive ban. This would allow nuclear blasts below an agreed level."

Mr. Dhanapala said that if such a proposal was put forward by one of the nuclear powers, it would confirm widely held suspicions among nonnuclear states that political expediency lay behind the promise of such a ban.

The internal U.S. dispute originates in President Bill Clinton's decision to endorse the speedy completion of a test ban in a January memorandum that included highly ambiguous language outlining U.S. nuclear policy. His memo said that the comprehensive test ban treaty "must not prohibit activities required to maintain the safety and reliability of our nuclear stockpile."

Senior Pentagon officials have cited this passage as justification for inserting a loophole in the test-ban treaty allowing nuclear blasts to be conducted by the five declared nuclear powers, which also include Britain, Russia and China, in addition to France. Under one variant, such tests could continue only for a decade.

The stated purpose would be to ensure that existing nuclear arms have not been

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## After an Epoch of Nagging, Christo Wraps Reichstag

By Rick Atkinson  
*Washington Post Service*

**BERLIN** — Nearly a quarter-century after he first sought permission to swaddle Germany's most controversial building in fabric, the American wrapped master Christo finally began to convert his vision into art over the weekend as a team of stepladders began trussing up the Berlin Reichstag with a million square feet of silver cloth and nine miles of blue rope.

The first of 70 veils of woven polypropylene spilled down an inner courtyard Saturday while Christo's legions swarmed over the once and future German Parliament building, tugging, tacking and wrapping away. But work was short-lived on

Sunday, as high winds forced the wrapping to stop.

Enveloping the entire building was expected to take four days, but now it may take longer.

The technical director, Wolfgang Volz, said Sunday: "We have been warned that winds may reach a speed of up to 60 kilometers an hour, which means we will not be able to work. We should be able to go ahead tomorrow."

The "Wrapped Reichstag" has long had this town abuzz with anticipation — Berlin schoolchildren have been wrapping everything from pencils to classrooms — and a sizable crowd swarmed around the project Saturday, gawking and opining.

Would-be critics predict the finished product, to be on display for two weeks, will resemble a vast spaceship, a silver lame sculpture or, less generously, a diapered hubo.

"You have so much empty space between the fabric and the building, and that empty space will be filled with the wind," Christo said in an interview. "The wind will make the Reichstag like a living object, like it's breathing."

Whatever the project's aesthetic appeal, it may not prove to be the tourist magnet predicted last winter by Berlin city offi-



Berliners standing in front of the Reichstag on Sunday. High winds and rain postponed the artist's wrapping project.

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Newsstand Prices	
Andorra	9.00 FF Luxembourg
Amsterdam	60 L. E.
Antwerp	11.20 FF Monaco
Athens	13.27
America	1,400 CFA
Egypt	1,500 CFA
France	5,000 FF
Gabon	960 CFA
Greece	350 L.
Italy	2,600 Lira
Navy Coast	Tunisia
Jerusalem	120 CFA Turkey
Lebanon	1.50 US \$100
	1.50 US \$100

But National Front loses in other cities where it had appeared strong

Paris, Monday, June 19, 1995

## Russians Halt War In Chechnya to Gain Release of Hostages

### G-7 Talks Show Limits of Power

By Alan Friedman  
*International Herald Tribune*

**HALIFAX, Nova Scotia** — On a range of issues stretching from the wars in Bosnia and Chechnya to the turbulence in global currency markets, the summit meeting that just ended was a lesson in the limits of power of the world's seven leading industrial nations.

The exception was a fair degree of progress made in laying plans to protect the world financial system from another Mexi-

#### NEWS ANALYSIS

can-style crisis, and to fund a rescue package should such a crisis occur.

And Japan and the United States did appear to be closing in on a breakthrough in their dispute over auto trade. (Page 11)

Yet most of the leaders of the Group of Seven nations gathered here — the United States, Japan, Germany, Britain, France, Italy and Canada — are politically weak at home and it showed.

The G-7's joint appeal for an end to fighting in Bosnia, for example, was mere rhetoric. "I don't think there are any new ideas on settling the conflict," Prime Minister John Major of Britain admitted on Saturday.

Worse still, the strong words about Bosnia were overshadowed by President Bill Clinton's embarrassment as he acknowledged to his peers that he would have a hard time persuading his Republican opponents, who control Congress, to ante up the U.S. share of funds for the newly approved rapid-reaction force.

Then, when the G-7 leaders were joined at the weekend by President Boris N. Yeltsin, aides reported that they expressed their sympathy to the Russian leader for the hostage crisis in Budeenovsk but insisted on a political rather than military solution to the situation in Chechnya.

Mr. Yeltsin responded by using a photo

See HALIFAX, Page 6

### Chernomyrdin Sets Peace Talks

By Lee Hockstader and Margaret Shapiro  
*Washington Post Service*

**BUDENNOVSK, Russia** — Stunned by the failure of two commando raids by elite federal troops, Prime Minister Victor S. Chernomyrdin of Russia ordered a cease-fire in Chechnya on Sunday and sent a high-level negotiation team there in an effort to win the release of hundreds of hostages being held in this Russian town by Chechen fighters.

The immediate cease-fire, the offer of safe passage for the gunmen back to Chechnya and high-level negotiations represented a total reversal of Russian policy in dealing with the hostage-takers and the six-month-old war in that breakaway region.

But the outcome of the negotiations, called in publicly televised telephone calls from Mr. Chernomyrdin to Shamil Basayev, leader of the Chechen fighters here, remained in doubt Sunday night after Mr. Basayev decided to put a hold on the deal until early Monday morning, according to the television news program *Ilogi*.

[Mr. Basayev told Mr. Chernomyrdin that he was preparing to leave the hospital, where the hostages are being held, at 5 A.M., Reuters reported.]

[Local officials said Mr. Basayev had asked for six buses to take his gunmen, some hostages and a group of parliamentary deputies to the southern Chechen town of Vedeno. The rebels also wanted a refrigerated truck to transport their dead.]

[Mr. Chernomyrdin and Mr. Basayev had agreed that all the captives would be released before the rebels were given transportation, but it seemed highly unlikely that the Chechen commander would want to leave without some hostages.]

[Nonetheless, the government was moving swiftly to demonstrate that it was serious about finding a peaceful resolution to

See MOSCOW, Page 6

## Serbs Free Last Captives As UN Agrees to Demands

By Roger Cohen  
*New York Times Service*

**SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina** — Having successfully used terror to secure virtually all their demands, the Bosnian Serbs on Sunday released a last batch of 26 United Nations peacekeepers taken hostage more than three weeks ago.

Apparently in exchange, the United Nations released four Serbs captured May 27 after a battle with French peacekeepers in central Sarajevo. Their release was the final condition set by Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader, for freeing all the United Nations hostages.

At the same time, the United Nations force here was allowed to withdraw 91 peacekeepers from weapons-collection sites around Sarajevo where they had been surrounded by the Serbs since May 26. This withdrawal constituted the formal collapse of the combined effort by NATO and the United Nations to police or remove heavy weapons from the Sarajevo area.

That devastation, continuously marked by the use of terror as a weapon of war, resumed Sunday when a Bosnian Serb shell slammed into the Sarajevo suburb of Dobrinja, killing seven people and wounding 10. The dead were mostly old people waiting in line for water. This encircled city has been without water, gas and elec-

tricity for months.

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tricity for months.

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#### AGENDA

### Explosion Kills 12 At Belgian Frontier

**BRUSSELS (AP)** — An explosion at a Belgian service station near the German border killed at least 12 people Sunday and authorities feared more casualties after an adjacent restaurant collapsed on customers.

A police official said the explosion at a filling station in Eynatten was believed to be accidental. He feared the death toll could reach 20 in all.

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## POLITICAL NOTES

**Fund Raising, Republican Style**

WASHINGTON — As Republicans intensify the drive to cement their majority in Congress, lawmakers are putting the squeeze on potential donors with a raw aggressiveness unusual even by Washington standards. Several lobbyists said they were stunned by the direct, nature of a solicitation they received from Representative Thomas D. DeLay of Texas, the House majority whip.

His letter was mailed to every political action committee that contributed to the losing re-election bid last year of Mike Kreidler, a Washington Democrat. The warning: Contribute to the Republican winner, Representative Randy Tate — and move fast.

"I understand you supported Randy Tate's opponent, Mike Kreidler, with a total contribution of \$500 during the 1993-1994 campaign cycle," Mr. DeLay said in one letter. "While I was surprised to see you oppose Randy Tate, I now have the opportunity to work toward a positive future relationship."

Mr. DeLay did not stop there. Not only did he urge donors to change their ways and give to a Republican, he strongly suggested more than once that the political action committees start writing checks immediately — so Mr. Tate could put the money to best use.

The letter is the latest example of an all-out effort by Republicans to keep control of Congress by moving quickly to convince political action committees and other special interests to demonstrate their loyalty. (NYT)

**House Swats Down Army Museum**

WASHINGTON — House Republicans have delivered a fiscal rebuke to the U.S. Army, voting overwhelmingly against providing \$14 million for a museum in Northern Virginia that was a top priority of the service.

The vote came on an amendment to the 1996 appropriations bill for military construction, which was defeated, 261 to 137. A total of 154 Republicans voted to withhold the money, and only 66 sided with the army. The appropriations committee had recommended giving the army \$14 million of the \$17 million it requested to acquire a future site for the museum on property owned by Marriott Corp.

The outcome suggested that the \$10.7 billion military construction measure could face trouble when debate on it continues this week. The appropriation is \$2 billion above this year's and exceeds the president's budget request by \$500 million. (WP)

**Speaker to Debate on MTV Special**

NEW YORK — If he is lucky, no one will ask him what type of underwear he prefers. But Newt Gingrich will risk questions of that sort and some of the political variety when he appears on a half-hour MTV news special, "Newt: Raw," on July 13.

Mr. Gingrich and five or six people in their 20s will discuss issues from the Republicans' political agenda to national service, education and the minimum wage. "We asked Newt Gingrich to take part in this program as part of our ongoing efforts to give young people a voice in the political process," said Judy McGrath, president of MTV.

Mr. Gingrich follows in the footsteps of President Bill Clinton, who faced a live MTV audience in June 1992. Mr. Clinton responded to various questions about his administration, as well as to the query, "Do you wear boxers or briefs?" (NYT)

**Plunging Into the Campaign Swirl**

WASHINGTON — One is a 45-year-old West Point graduate. Another is a 20-year-old college sophomore. A third is a White House veteran at 25 who wants to go back. What they have in common is that they are working in their first presidential campaigns.

They say they cannot understand why others turn up their noses at the hard work and sharp elbows that the competition for high office involves. Andrea Mack, 22, who is coordinating volunteers for Senator Bob Dole, said: "People have the mistaken idea that politics is a closed circle. But those who try it find it is something they love."

For some of the novices, the motivation is ideology. Erin Ann McBride, 20, of Oakton, Virginia, who organizes fundraisers for Patrick J. Buchanan, the conservative commentator, was taken to her first political rally by her father when she was 2. She was an intern in a congressional office when in high school. But what caused her to drop out of Brigham Young University in May, at least temporarily, and go to work for Mr. Buchanan was her faith in his issues.

"If you didn't believe in pro-life, pro-family, anti-NAFTA and anti-GATT policies, you wouldn't be for Pat Buchanan," she said. "I know we won't change his views. That's why I'm here."

Similar motivation drives David Peikin, 23, of Bethesda, Maryland. He is an assistant press secretary for Senator Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania. He was working as a researcher at a public relations firm when the job opened up. "I've always admired Senator Specter's stand," he said. "He does a great job on abortion," where Mr. Specter has been on the side of abortion rights, "and in keeping the extreme forces in the Republican Party in check." (WP)

**Quote / Unquote**

Newt Gingrich, the House speaker, referring to the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in telling blacks the best way to overcome racism: "The most rapid way to eliminate prejudice is to acquire success. No one minds if Colin Powell moves in next door." (AP)

**'Disaster' of O. J. Simpson and the Gloves**

By Kenneth B. Noble  
New York Times Service

**LOS ANGELES** — After tugging and squeezing and grilling, O. J. Simpson finally got his hands into the infamous bloodstained leather gloves. But if the jury ultimately concludes after all that they did not fit him, the prosecutors may have decisively undermined what could have been their most powerful piece of incriminating evidence.

In hindsight, lawyers, legal scholars and other experts say, the prosecutors' move last week in getting Mr. Simpson to squeeze into the gloves, which they say he wore in killing Nicole Brown Simpson and Ronald L. Goldman, was a horrible mistake, a blunder so grave and damaging to the state's case that it may never recover.

"The jurors seeing that the gloves didn't fit O. J. Simpson changes everything," said Peter Arenella, a criminal-law professor at the University of California at Los Angeles.

"This takes away the momentum of the coroner's emotional testimony," Mr. Arenella said, and will force the prosecutors to regaining that momentum by seeking to introduce, earlier than they had planned, additional evidence of domestic violence in the Simpson household.

"And it eliminates the need for O. J. Simpson to testify."

Mr. Arenella continued. "In effect, he's already done it."

Gigi Gordon, a Santa Monica criminal-defense lawyer, said the prosecution's tactic had violated a trial lawyer's cardinal rule: Never elicit evidence whose outcome is unknown in advance.

"This was an unmitigated disaster," Ms. Gordon said.

As a result of the striking courtroom demonstration, Ms.

**Away From Politics**

• Roman Catholic bishops called on the United States government to curb American involvement in the global arms trade and to lead an international effort to ban land mines. In a statement titled "Sowing Weapons of War," the National Conference of Catholic Bishops faulted the United States for "excessive" arms exports and for gaining "a growing dominance of the world's arms market." (NYT)

• A steam engine pulling an excursion train exploded in rural south-central Pennsylvania, injuring three crewmen. All three suffered burns and one was critically injured. The engine was pulling a Gettysburg Steam Railroad train with 300 passengers aboard, but none of them was injured. (AP)

• The U.S. space shuttle Atlantis will take off June 23 on the first docking mission between a U.S. space craft and Russia's Mir space station. NASA and the Russian Space Agency said.

• A Florida woman died four days after a maintenance worker in a hospital accidentally shut off her oxygen. After the 55-year-old woman went into a coma, her family requested that her life support systems be disconnected, officials at the Holmes Regional Medical Center said. (AP)

• Twenty-one cars of a Union Pacific freight train derailed near Corning, Arkansas, and one carrying propane caught fire, forcing about 400 residents to evacuate their homes. (AP)

Gordon said, "there's a national debate now on whether that glove fit him."

"And the same debate is going to continue in the jury room," she said. "As a prosecutor, you don't want a debate, you want an edict."

One of Ms. Gordon's colleagues in the local defense bar, Karen Ackerson, agreed. "The jury stopped listening once

O. J. couldn't put the gloves on."

And Linda Meza, a psychologist and jury consultant in San Bernardino, said: "I've never seen a blinder like this. It's a clear example of how a clear, concrete demonstration prevails on jurors. It was clearly more salient than hours and hours of DNA testimony."

Not everyone thought the demonstration so damaging that it would necessarily imperil the prosecution's case.

"We can't assess yet what this is likely to mean, because we are in the middle of the story," said Ervin Chemerinsky, a criminal-law professor at the University of Southern California. "I've seen many experts say this is a pivotal moment. But the prosecution is likely to revisit this issue later, and we'll have to wait until then."

But most trial lawyers and other experts said the prosecution had committed a blunder, and some attributed it to simple incompetence.

"They have 25 lawyers on the case," said Barry Tarlow, a Los Angeles criminal-defense lawyer.

• A Florida woman died four days after a maintenance worker in a hospital accidentally shut off her oxygen. After the 55-year-old woman went into a coma, her family requested that her life support systems be disconnected, officials at the Holmes Regional Medical Center said. (AP)

• Twenty-one cars of a Union Pacific freight train derailed near Corning, Arkansas, and one carrying propane caught fire, forcing about 400 residents to evacuate their homes. (AP)

**In Republican 'Revolution,' Decorum Goes to Guillotine**

By Helen Dewar  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — As often as possible, usually before a nearly empty chamber in the early morning or late evening, Rick Santorum takes the Senate floor with a chart reading "Where's Bill?" — and sends Democrats into a collective rage.

The freshman Pennsylvania senator's defiant use of President Bill Clinton's first name is an attack on one of the decorum-conscious Senate's unwritten taboos, aimed at barring any words that might be construed as expressions of disrespect.

It has also stirred a behind-the-scenes debate among senators over what one called "the proper manners for a revolution."

Mr. Santorum's critics, Democrats all, say his conduct is an example of the coarsening of political discourse in the United States, a coarsening that

was reflected in the take-no-prisoners tone of last November's campaign and is exemplified now in the brash rhetoric of many new Republican lawmakers, especially in the House.

Mr. Santorum and his allies deny there is anything disrespectful about using the president's first name, but contend that provocative language is essential to producing the radical change the voters wanted when they overthrew the established Democratic

Democratic district in 1990. Mr. Santorum was drawn to his speaker, Newt Gingrich, who was then the Republican whip. He became a high-profile member of the "Gang of Seven" freshmen who helped make the House bank scandal household term, contributing to the retirement or defeat of dozens of members.

Last year he took Senator Harris Wofford, whose election three years before had helped put health care reform on the national agenda. But the political tide had taken a sharp right turn, and Mr. Santorum trounced Mr. Wofford by painting him as an out-of-date liberal and railing against big government and high taxes.

Bringing to the Senate the same kind of confrontational conservatism that had marked his brief House career, Mr. Santorum quickly earned a reputation as the most combative member of a highly combative class of 11 freshman Republicans.

The Senate's youngest member, at 37, has been chastised repeatedly by Democrats, but such criticism seems only to invigorate him.

In his Clinton "vigils," as he calls them, Mr. Santorum has been trying to call attention to what he describes as the president's "lack of leadership" on balancing the budget. He uses a big blue and white chart — with gold numbers reflecting the days that have passed since Republicans on the Senate Budget Committee produced their plan — as a visual prop to dramatize his claim.

He was out on the floor with the chart minutes after Mr. Clinton unveiled his proposal to balance the budget, insisting that it would not do so. Senate Democrats contend that Mr. Santorum's chart talk, repeated a dozen times over the past month, has called attention to little more than his "bad manners" and disrespectful language.

"I've been in the Senate 21 years," said Wendell H. Ford, the Democratic whip, "and this is the first time I've ever heard the president or first lady referred to by their first names — not Dick, not Jimmy, not Ronnie and not Bill. It's one of the complaints that people have generally about politics, about campaigns of dirt and mud. And it's even more distasteful when it's brought into the Senate chamber."

Senator John B. Breaux, Democrat of Louisiana, said: "This is the kind of thing you hear in high school, not the United States Senate."

Republicans have declined to comment on Mr. Santorum. But some have expressed their misgivings in private. "It's a question of manners," one said, but he asked not to be identified.

Senator James M. Jeffords, Republi-

cans of Vermont, however, did say of the approach of some of his more conservative colleagues: "I think it's silly and counterproductive, but it seems to turn them on."

**Virginia Says Yes to Buchanan****Conservative Writer Sees Straws in the Wind**

By Peter Baker  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Patrick J. Buchanan has rallied hundreds of supporters to claim victory in a straw poll of presidential candidates among Virginia Republicans that hopes will give him momentum even as rivals dismiss it as meaningless.

In one of the largest rump voting sessions to date in the nascent battle for 1996 Republican presidential nomination, Mr. Buchanan, a conservative journalist, swamped the field by winning 59 percent of the 1,083 votes cast at a fund-raiser party conference Saturday in Tysons Corner. Each Republican who voted paid \$25.

Such contests rarely foretell the public's preferences, but they can be morale boosters for lagging campaigns and provide a barometer of sentiment among party activists.

The results also drive home the fact that conservatives are in firm control of the state Republican apparatus.

The Senate majority leader, Bob Dole of Kansas, a moderate who is the front-runner in national polls, collected just 7 percent of the vote. More moderate figures, such as Governor Pete Wilson of California and Senator Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania, received less than 1 percent each and were passed when they were mentioned.

David Johnson, executive director of the state party, said the vote reflects support for Mr. Buchanan but more importantly signals the direction favored by the party faithful.

"They want the party to stick to the issues that the grass roots are concerned about," he said, such as abortion and morality.

"They want the nominee, whoever it turns out to be, to be both a fiscal conservative and a social conservative."

Still, despite the relatively large turnout, the event underscored Virginia's nearly nonexistent role in presidential politics. Although once known as the "mother of presidents" because eight chief executives hailed from the state, Virginia in the modern era has been reduced to a small player.

Of the nine candidates, only Mr. Buchanan, Alan Keyes, who is a radio talk-show host, and a California congressman, Robert K. Dornan, showed up to address the group, while the rest concentrated on more strategic states, such as New Hampshire, Iowa and Florida. Virginia will not select delegates to the Republican National Convention until next May, long after the nomination battle is likely to have been settled.

"The bottom line is the primary is too doggone late," said Mark Merritt, communications director for a former education secretary, Lamar Alexander, who did not attend and finished last in the tally. "Everybody has to target your resources where it's going to do the most bang for the buck."

Mr. Keyes, who delivered one of his trademark fiery addresses to the crowd, finished second with 11 percent, followed by Senators Phil Gramm of Texas and Richard G. Lugar of Indiana, with 8 percent each. Mr. Dornan received 4 percent, and the rest got just a handful.

Governor George Allen and Attorney General James S. Gilmore 3d, who remain popular among many Republicans, have not chosen favorites so far.

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France F.F.	1,950	40	590
Germany O.M.	700	32	210
Great Britain £	210	32	65
Ireland £rl.	230	37	88
Italy Lira	470,000	60	145,000
Luxembourg L.Fr.	14,000	41	4,200
Netherlands FL	770	40	230
Portugal Esc.	47,000	44	14,000
Spain Ptas.	48,000	41	14,500
hand delivery Madrid Ptas.	55,000	33	14,500
Sweden (airmail) S.Kr.	3,100	34	900
hand delivery S.Kr.	3,500	28	1,000
Switzerland S.Fr.	610	48	185

# U.S.-Beijing Links In 'Danger Zone,' Angry China Warns

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches  
BEIJING — Chinese-U.S. relations are in a "danger zone," China said Sunday, laying the blame on Washington because it allowed President Lee Teng-hui of Taiwan to visit the United States.

The criticism came in a front-page editorial in the People's Daily, published by the Communist Party. Its editorials are approved by the party's leadership.

It is the latest in weeks of haranguing from Beijing, which was enraged when the United States broke precedent and granted a visa to Taiwan's president to attend a reunion at his alma mater, Cornell University, last week.

"In so doing, the United States has seriously contravened the principles that are the basis for China-U.S. relations and pushed these relations into a danger zone," the editorial said.

It concluded by asking, "Where does the U.S. government want Sino-U.S. relations to go? We are waiting to see."

China has repeatedly warned that Mr. Lee's U.S. visit would seriously damage its relations with Washington as well as with Taipei. Beijing considers Taiwan a renegade province, and responds harshly to any act it considers to be a recognition of the Nationalist government there.

In its strongest acts of protest so far, China on Saturday recalled its ambassador to the United States "to report on his work in view of the current state of Sino-U.S. relations." On Fri-

day, Beijing postponed a long-awaited high-level meeting with a Taiwanese official.

In Washington, a State Department spokesman, Nicholas Burns, said: "We very much regret that the Chinese government has chosen to withdraw its envoy from Washington and we hope that his absence from Washington will be temporary.

"We continue to seek a constructive relationship with a strong, stable and open China."

The four-year tour of Stapleton Roy, U.S. ambassador to China, ended on Saturday, just hours after Beijing recalled its ambassador. Mr. Roy flew out of Beijing on Saturday in what diplomats said was a scheduled departure in a normal rotation at the end of his tenure.

The editorial argued that Mr. Lee's visit was not unofficial and private, as described by the United States, because some congressional and local government officials met him and because he was addressed as "President Lee."

"The United States provided Lee with a political forum, from which he unscrupulously sprang a lot of fallacies aimed at splitting China," it said.

The People's Daily editorial reminded readers that formal relations between Beijing and Washington were established only after the United States "had explicitly committed itself" to recognizing China's Communist rulers as the sole, legitimate government of all of China, including Taiwan, and pledging to maintain only unofficial contacts with Taiwan.

(AP, Reuters)



Yoshikazu Tsuno/Agence France Presse  
HALF HOG — Beijing cooks grilling piglets on a 100-meter-long barbecue oven in a promotion for an American beer.

## Hong Kong Formula Falls Flat in Taiwan

By Keith B. Richburg  
*Washington Post Service*

### HONG KONG — One country, two systems."

That simple, catchphrase has become the much-repeated mantra for Hong Kong's transition from British colony to Chinese rule in 1997. It is meant to assert China's future sovereignty while reassuring Hong Kong residents and foreign investors that the colony's capitalist system will remain intact, at least for 50 years.

And could China use that same formula to one day regain sovereignty over Taiwan, which Beijing considers a renegade province?

"Not possible," said Vincent C. Siew, chairman of Taiwan's cabinet-level Mainland Affairs Council. "Hong Kong's situation is totally different from Taiwan. Hong Kong is a colony — period. Taiwan is the Republic of China. The Republic of China is a sovereign state."

A key to that sovereignty is Taiwan's well-armed and modern 400,000-man military, equipped with F-5 and F-104

jets and with the first F-16s to be delivered next year. "In a frontal assault, they could defend themselves," a Western diplomat said.

Officially, the Taiwanese government is still committed to eventual unification with its

### NEWS ANALYSIS

erstwhile Communist enemies on the mainland. But Mr. Siew warned that under Hong Kong's "one country, two systems" formula, Beijing will have ultimate control. Despite the safeguards built in, he said, Beijing will prevail in any dispute.

"Our people will not accept this formula," he said.

In any event, the transition in Hong Kong may prove a poor guide for Taiwan, since the road to 1997 has been anything but smooth. Britain and China have clashed over issues such as Beijing's demand for all the records of Hong Kong civil servants and over the makeup and scope of a new supreme court for the colony.

The court issue was finally resolved last week, but only after Britain made concessions that critics believe raise questions about the future court's independence and Beijing's ability to restrict its jurisdiction.

Uncertainty in Hong Kong in many ways is a boon for Taiwan. Taipei believes that if Hong Kong loses its luster as the region's main business and financial center, Taiwan particularly as it consolidates its new democracy, stands to benefit most.

At the same time, perception of Chinese heavy-handedness in its takeover of Hong Kong strengthens the arguments in Taiwan against any quick deal for unification with the mainland.

"If things were going in a direction that seemed like Hong Kong was going to enjoy a great deal of autonomy, and Beijing was relaxed about it, it might have changed attitudes in Taiwan," a Western diplomat said.

Beijing has always considered Taiwan, not Hong Kong, the greater prize in its quest for the complete unification of the motherland.

Taiwan, however, is far more than an embarrassing reminder of China's past military weakness. The regime in Taiwan constitutes a direct challenge to the legitimacy of Beijing's Communist rulers. Since Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek fled to

the island with the remnants of

the defeated Kuomintang Na-

tionalist army in 1949, China

and Taiwan have faced off in a

state of perpetual hostility.

Relations had been improv-

ing in recent years, with the two

sides now holding bilateral

talks on a range of mostly tech-

nical issues, like tourism and

agricultural exchanges, and

with China now attracting a

growing portion of Taiwan's

overseas investment.

But ties have been strained

by the recent "trip" of Presi-

dent Lee Teng-hui of Tai-

wan to the United States to visit

Cornell University, where he

was awarded a doctorate. Bei-

jing has complained that the trip

violates Washington's long-

standing "one China" policy

and last week recalled its am-

bassador to the United States.

It previously canceled some

scheduled high-level meetings.

After Mr. Lee's successful

U.S. visit, however, Taiwan is

feeling increasingly assertive

about its standing in the world.

Voices are growing in Taiwan, a

nation of 21 million people, for

partial separation and indepen-

dence from China.

And Taiwanese officials,

while still outwardly espousing

eventual unification as their

goal, make it clear that any re-

union with China will only be

on Taiwan's terms.

Thus, the Hong Kong exam-

ple seems increasingly irrele-

vant to Taiwan.

### Asia Is Warned About the Danger Of Environmental Degradation

MANILA — Rapid environmental degradation is threatening the economic development of Asia, as natural resources are wasted and financial resources to assist environmental projects are dwindling, experts warned Sunday.

"Although economic growth has brought prosperity to many Asian countries, the alarm has been recently sounded over the man-made degradation of the environment, which has put to serious question the sustainability of this growth," said Cielito Habito, secretary for economic planning in the Philippines.

He was addressing a meeting of the National Councils for Sustainable Development in Asia, a gathering of environmental experts and officials of environmental groups, nongovernmental organizations and international banks. More than 20 countries in Asia and the Americas were represented at the meeting.

Mitsuo Sato, president of the Asian Development Bank, said that while Asian economies have exhibited an impressive growth rate of 8.2 percent, that growth has not reduced poverty in the region, where 800 million of the developing world's 1 billion poor people live. (AP)

### Flooding Kills 31 in Bangladesh

SYLHET, Bangladesh — At least 31 Bangladeshis have died and many more are missing in floods triggered by heavy rains, officials and villagers said Sunday. Nearly a million people have been affected by the deluge, with most of them marooned in remote areas.

About 100 kilometers (60 miles) of roads and 10,000 houses have been washed away since the rains swept across northeastern Bangladesh from India late Thursday, the officials said. Sixteen people died in the northeastern district of Sylhet, 14 in the neighboring district of Sunamganj and one in Moulvibazar. (Reuters)

### For the Record

About 200 Tamil Tiger rebels ambushed a Sri Lankan Army patrol Sunday and killed eight soldiers, the police said in Colombo. The ambush took place on a jungle path near the village of Arunapura, east of the ancient capital of Polonnaruwa, they said. Rebel casualties were not known. (Reuters)

Gummen killed three people and wounded two others in Karachi, Pakistan, on Sunday, the police said. The killings raised the death toll in ethnic, sectarian and political violence in the southern port city to at least 150 this month and more than 750 this year. (Reuters)

U.S. investigators found no prison and no American prisoners of war Sunday in a daylight search of a village in Vietnam. The search was prompted by an activist's claims that hundreds of U.S. servicemen were still being held in the area two decades after the end of the Vietnam War. Three Americans and three Vietnamese escorts searched an army truck depot and acres of rice paddies at the spot where Billy Hendon, a POW activist, claimed an underground prison was located. Mr. Hendon has made similar claims in the past that have failed to hold up. (AP)

### VOICES From Asia

Ishwa Chand Saini, a garage worker in New Delhi, on the heat wave that has killed hundreds: "Too much hot, too much hot, every year it is too much hot." (NYT)

David Lange, a former prime minister of New Zealand, on France's decision to resume nuclear testing in the South Pacific: "Today it is absurd that a second-rate power, a well-known rater on international agreements, should enjoy such prestige. France does not demonstrate from its history and current practices, that it is fit to be taken seriously as a force in international relations. And yet it is, because it is nuclear armed and unscrupulous." (Reuters)

Gyaincain Norbu, the chief of the government in Tibet, ordering an overhaul of monasteries and nunneries that take part in anti-Chinese protests: "We must counter the infiltration of splitist groups inside our borders, carry out an effective struggle against them and handle troublemakers in a firm, resolute and timely manner." (Reuters)

### BOOKS

#### WHAT THEY'RE READING

\* Robin Munro, Hong Kong director of Human Rights Asia, is reading "Sunset Song," the first book in the trilogy "A Scot's Quare" by Lewis Grassic Gibbon.

"It's a wonderful description of rural life in the northeast of Scotland in the early part of the century. It's a social anatomy of the poverty-stricken northeast but full of respect for local traditions." (Kevin Murphy, IHT)

Andrea Fraser, while still outwardly espousing eventual unification as their goal, make it clear that any re-union with China will only be on Taiwan's terms.

Thus, the Hong Kong example seems increasingly irrelevant to Taiwan.

During the height of his working life, Evans was best known for the collection "American Photographs," published in 1938. Now of course he is most famous for the photographs he took to accompany James Agee's text for "Let Us Now Praise Famous Men," published in 1941, which did not really find a substantial readership until a new edition was issued in 1960, after Agee's early death and the success three years earlier of his novel "A Death in the Family."

Evans led the artistic life as a boy and never stopped, though his career went into a long dry period after World War II. At the time he started, American photography pretty much consisted of the rather formal and studied work of Alfred Stieglitz, for which Evans did not particularly care. So it was left to the younger photographers to determine the character of the genre. Evans found a persuasive model in the work of Agee, the Parisian photographer, in which "all of his latent instincts were combined: a straight cataloguing method imbued with an inscrutable melancholy, a long look at neglected objects, and an unerring eye for the signs of popular culture in transition."

Evans's first museum show was at the Museum of Modern Art in 1933; in his descriptive essay, Lincoln Kirstein summed up the virtues of his work as "patience, surgical accuracy, and self-effacement." This last is especially important, not merely for what it says about Evans's willingness to subordinate himself to his subjects but also for what it says about his many imitators. The stark black-and-white images of decaying houses and weathered faces that characterize Evans's pictures were not affectations but the world as he saw it, and the viewer can sense in the pictures the photographer's sympathy and even, at times, love for what he sees. By contrast, many of those influenced by Evans — Diane Arbus comes most immediately to mind — have absorbed the images but not the sympathy; their America is viewed with condescension, if not hostility, and the judgmentalism of the photographer is always plainly on display.

He loved billboards, the more dilapidated the better, and cherished the contrast between advertisement and reality. He thought he was drawn to his subjects by "magic" and said: "It's as though there's a wonderful secret in a certain place and I can capture it. Only I, at this moment, can capture it, and only this moment and only me."

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Evans led the artistic life in just about every sense. Rathbone dutifully but unsentimentally chronicles his early homoerotic experiments, his two marriages and many liaisons, his notable friendships, his increasing dependence upon alcohol. She writes with an undertone of reverence about his long service in the empire of Henry Luce, whose magazines supplied him with an income but diverted him — as they did so many others, albeit of lesser talents — from more serious work. She has done her work with care and scruples, has declined the temptation to ramble on at excessive length, judges Evans as artist and man perceptively and fairly, and writes agreeably, unostentatious prose. All in all she has written a first-rate biography.

Jonathan Yardley is on the staff of The Washington Post.

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## EUROPE

**Sinn Fein Says Peace Talks 'Over,' but Britain Denies It**

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

DUBLIN — Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army, formally broke off exploratory peace talks with Britain on Sunday, putting the brakes on a 10-month quest for a political settlement in Northern Ireland.

"Exploratory talks are now over — they're finished," the Sinn Fein strategist, Martin McGuinness, who is de facto No. 2 in the Irish republican party, said in a speech. "The continuation

of that process now requires a new realism from the British government."

He roundly rejected Britain's demand that Sinn Fein's IRA guerrilla supporters start handing over their weapons as a condition for being invited to all-party talks aimed at ending the 25-year Northern Ireland conflict.

The British government, however, asserted Sunday that the exploratory talks with Sinn Fein were continuing.

"We are still engaged in an exploratory dialogue, and we don't have any

reason to believe they are not going to continue," a spokesman for the Northern Ireland minister said.

Britain and Sinn Fein had held two rounds of exploratory talks since last September, when the Irish Republican Army silenced the guns it had used to fight British rule.

Mr. McGuinness's speech followed a weekend statement by the Sinn Fein president, Gerry Adams, who warned of a return to violence in Northern Ireland unless Britain rewarded the

IRA's 10-month-old cease-fire by inviting his party to the talks.

Mr. Adams, who is visiting South Africa, said in an interview that "the danger of slipping back into conflict remains" unless Sinn Fein gets a full seat at the conference table.

Irish officials said they did not believe the IRA would resume attacking British troops and police officers, risking the loss of support from the Clinton administration and the Irish government.

But they said frustration might boil over on the streets of Northern Ireland if the anniversary approached with little sign of Sinn Fein's being admitted to the talks.

Britain has invited Protestant Unionist parties, which want the province to stay British, to fresh talks.

But it says that Sinn Fein and Protestant parties close to gunmen who fought to defend British rule will be excluded while they remain armed.

(Reuters, AFP)

**Polish Jews Urge Walesa to Disown Remarks by Priest**By Jane Perlez  
New York Times Service

WARSAW — Several prominent Polish Jews have appealed to President Lech Walesa to disassociate himself from anti-Semitic remarks made last week by a Roman Catholic priest while the president sat in the congregation.

Mr. Walesa has declined to comment on a statement by the Reverend Henryk Jankowski during Mass that the "Star of David is implicated in the swastika as well as the hammer and sickle."

He added: "Poles, hating yourselves. We can no longer tolerate governments made up of people who have not declared whether they come from Moscow or from Israel."

The priest, who played an important role in the Solidarity movement in the 1980s and who usually officiates at the Sunday Mass the president attends in Gdańsk, issued another declaration last Wednesday that further emphasized what he had said.

In his second statement, Father Jankowski said: "The Star of David symbolizes not only the state of Israel but also the Jewish nation. Like all other people, Jews happen to do unbecoming things in public life just as they happen to do very noble things indeed. I am talking chiefly about banking and finance circles. Their actions have led to many a human tragedy."

Because Father Jankowski is an important figure in the Roman Catholic Church, his comments moved "anti-Semitism from the margins to the center of Polish politics," said Stanisław Krajewski, a consultant here to the American Jewish Committee.

Mr. Krajewski appealed to Mr. Walesa to make a clear public statement condemning the priest's words. He also said the church hierarchy should make an official statement rather than the off-the-cuff apologies that senior clergy have made in response to reporters' questions.

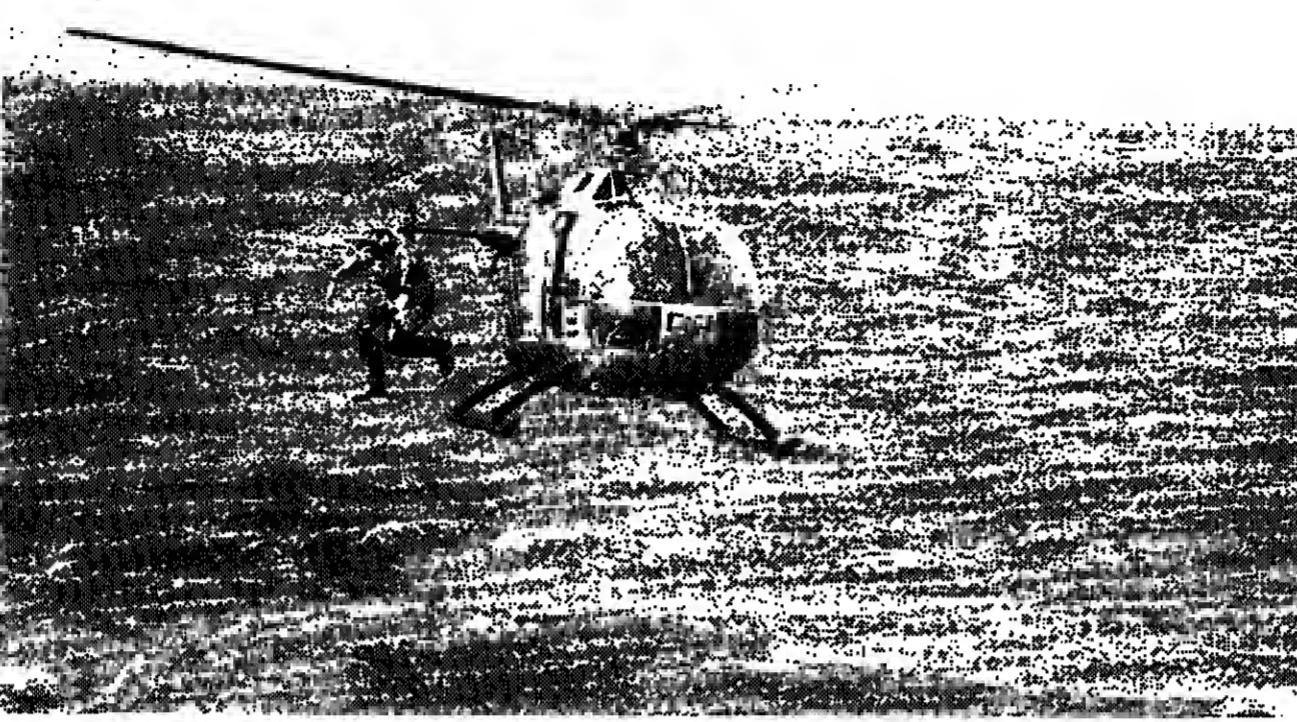
The secretary of the Roman Catholic episcopate, Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek, distanced the church from the sermon, saying it destroyed "long efforts" at good relations between the church and Judaism.

The silence from Mr. Walesa, who is preparing to run for a second term as president but whose popularity is at a record low, was more troubling, Mr. Krajewski said.

"It is late already — there is nothing from the president," said Mr. Krajewski, who is the Jewish co-chairman of the Polish Council of Christians and Jews. "The later he says something, the weaker it is."

After the priest's second statement, Mr. Walesa's spokesman, Leszek Spalinski, declined to comment.

In an angry commentary in the newspaper *Rzeczpospolita*, Konstanty Gebert, a well-known Jewish journalist, wrote: "Let us draw conclusions from this incident. Apparently, the highest state and church authorities see nothing wrong in Father Jankowski's statement."



Greenpeace helicopter dropping a relief crew member in the North Sea, where group's vessel was in a stand-off with Shell.

**Britain Backs Shell's Plan to Sink Oil Rig**

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

LONDON — Shell U.K. faced increased pressure Sunday over its decision to scuttle an old oil rig off the western coast of Scotland, but the British government fought back on behalf of the oil company.

A flotilla towing the Brent Spar headed through stormy seas to a site off the Hebrides where Shell intends to sink it.

The environmental group Greenpeace said the rig still carried the same amount of oil as a small tanker and might also contain chemical waste that could leak out and pollute the sea. Shell denied that and con-

tends that sinking the rig is the best way to get rid of it.

Clinging to the rig were two Greenpeace activists. On Saturday, a Greenpeace helicopter had to dodge water jets fired from nearby ships to drop them supplies.

"They're prepared to go down with the Brent Spar," a Greenpeace spokeswoman said. She said the oil company's attempt to prevent the helicopter from approaching the rig was an "outrage." "It appears the water cannon were not just forming a protective curtain," she said, "but were trained on the helicopter as it flew around the Spar."

Despite Greenpeace's efforts, Shell U.K. was pressing ahead with its plan to sink the 65,000-ton installation in a seabed trench 2.4 kilometers (1.5 miles) deep in international waters, 240 kilometers west of the Outer Hebrides.

The British government has supported Shell's decision. On Sunday, the environment minister, Tim Eggar, clashed with Chris Rose of Greenpeace on a BBC-TV talk show. "We have come to the conclusion that the best thing is to sink it in about a mile and a half of deep water," Mr. Eggar said.

He said Greenpeace's demand that the rig be taken apart

on land would be even more dangerous, and accused Greenpeace of "grossly exaggerating the problem."

Greenpeace said it would try to use its most powerful ship, the tugboat Solo, to intercept the rig on Monday.

The group has organized protests in Britain and Germany and said that demonstrators have turned away as many as 75 percent of motorists from some Shell gasoline pumps in Britain.

And in Monday's edition of Der Spiegel, the director of Shell-Germany, Peter Duncan, said that "profits on average are down by more than 20 percent."

(Reuters, AP)

**Q & A: To Veterans of '50s Beat Movement, It's Still Going On'**

*In the 1950s, Lawrence Ferlinghetti founded the City Lights bookshop in San Francisco, which became the meeting place for the beat writers and political activists of the 1950s and 1960s. In Florence to participate in a beat revival at the Teatro Studio di Scandicci, he talked with Ken Shulman.*

*Q. Critics and scholars have grouped all of the beat writers together into a single unit. Did you perceive of yourselves as a movement?*

*A. Allen Ginsberg did. Without Allen there wouldn't have been any beat movement. Not only is he a genius poet, but he is a genius publisher. From the very beginning, he knew exactly what would happen. And he was also smart enough to document it in his photography.*

*Actually, I wasn't one of the original beat group. When they were horsing around at Columbia University*

*and Times Square, I was in Paris living with a French family and working on a doctorate.*

*Q. If the beats were in fact a movement, what were they moving against?*

*A. These were the McCarthy years, you know. It was a little like the situation today. Poetry was very academic and hermetic. Poetry Chicago was the leading poetry journal, and that was pretty tame. When the beats came along, there was a whole new ball game. It was sort of like when rock hit the music scene in the 1960s. Cool jazz went right out the window.*

*Q. Was it only a literary movement?*

*A. There was definitely a political basis. Allen came out of a Jewish radical leftist background. And the beats in general were articulating for the first time what became the main themes of the hippie counterculture in the 1960s. The first ecological consciousness, the first anti-war paci-*

*fism. And the first use of psychedelic drugs to enlarge consciousness.*

*Q. What was the failure of the movement?*

*A. Who said it failed? It's still going on. There are beat revivals all over the world. And except for Kerouac, all of us are still around, and still writing. We didn't become the legislators of the world, if that's what you mean.*

*Q. But wasn't there a bit of naivete in the movement, in the belief that you could change the world?*

*A. I don't think that anyone was all that worried about trying to change the world. The beats were more intent on making out than in changing the world. And as I wrote in one of my poems, they made out of madness a hundred years of beatitude.*

*There is a big rejuvenation of the beats in academic circles these days. But everything is done so seriously and self-consciously. This wasn't a movement of academics. But the academics have not gotten hold of it, and it has become way too heavy.*

*Q. What could they say? What causes could they rally around?*

*A. Cyberspace and computers, for one.*

*The new cold war is the war against the electronic revolution.*

*They could draw a line between the human and the nonhuman. The computer revolution is just now being questioned by a lot of intellectuals who were originally hooked on computers.*

*Virtual reality creates a pretty sticky quality of life. If Dante were around today, he would probably invent a 10th circle of hell that is paved with television monitors and computer screens.*

*Q. Is no one examining these themes in the arts?*

*A. There are a few dissenters. Rap*

*poets and singers. Performance poetry.*

*They are working in the same dissident tradition that the beats worked in. There is still a protest against the dominant consumer culture. Only today I find them far more alienated than we ever were. Everything has to be politically correct today. But there doesn't seem to be any real commitment out there.*

*Q. Was there in the 1960s?*

*A. People went to jail back then.*

*And not just young people. I spent 19 days in the can.*

*The problem was that the counterculture was ingested into the middle class. All of the symbols, the music, the posters, the style of dress, they were absorbed by the system. This is the enormous capacity of the consumer society to ingest its most dissident elements.*

*Q. Was it easier to take sides in the 1950s and 1960s than it is today?*

*A. Definitely. In 1955, Life magazine wrote that the beats were the only rebellion around. Well you could say that this is still the case. If you look at American writing or American painting today, you don't find rebellion. How long has it been since a major American writer said anything of great importance from a dissenting point of view. I don't hear them saying anything.*

*Q. What could they say? What causes could they rally around?*

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*The new cold war is the war against the electronic revolution.*

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**Airborne Pollen Heralds Big Year in Morocco — for Marijuana**By Marlise Simons  
New York Times Service

MADRID — Scientists sampling the air in southern Spain the other day came across a surprising event, a great stream of marijuana pollen coming off a warm southern wind.

The pollen, though measured along a 400-kilometer (250-mile) stretch of the Spanish coast, from Estepona to Cartagena, and it reached more than 160 kilometers inland, beyond Córdoba.

Researchers soon established that the tiny grains appearing in their microscopes were harbingers of a likely bumper crop of marijuana in Morocco, to the south. At this time of the year, they said, the great marijuana plantations are in flower along the north coast between Tangiers and the Algerian border.

"No, you don't get high breathing this," Mr. Domínguez said by telephone from Córdoba, where he is a biology professor. "We'd all be very cheerful by now, but the pollen does not contain the narcotic compound."

One important part of the equation, diplomats and police officials in Spain and France concede, is Europe's own ambivalent attitude toward so-called soft drugs.

While pressuring Morocco and other drug producers and offering them aid to promote substitute crops, some European governments emit conflicting

signals by removing penalties for the use of soft drugs and even tolerating production.

In 1994, after an independent study concluded that Morocco's hashish production had reached a record high of 1,500 tons a year, an EU delegation went to Morocco to ask its government for a more serious crackdown. Its main concern, the delegation said, was that the Moroccan hashish network in Europe was also being used by cocaine and heroin traders.

Morocco replied that if it were to comply, it would want more European aid in exchange, said an official familiar

with the visit, who put Morocco's current hashish earnings at more than \$2 billion a year.

Besides, the Europeans were asked, did it make sense to eradicate a crop that sooner or later might become entirely acceptable in Europe?

In the Netherlands, hundreds of soft-drug cafés openly sell hashish and marijuana, and Dutch plant breeders are growing such large amounts of cannabis in greenhouses that insiders predict that the Dutch may soon be self-sufficient.

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**Arts**

## INTERNATIONAL

## Summit Leaders Warn Yeltsin On Use of Military in Chechnya

By David E. Sanger  
New York Times Service

**HALIFAX**, Nova Scotia — Leaders of the seven major industrial nations issued a double-pronged warning to President Boris N. Yeltsin of Russia, telling him that the "situation in Chechnya should not be resolved by military means" and indirectly condemning his government's planned sale of nuclear reactors to Iran.

But in an agitated mood at a meeting with President Bill Clinton, Mr. Yeltsin called Chechnya "the center of world terrorism, of bribery and corruption and mafia."

Raising his hands in the air, he said General Dzhokar M. Dudayev, the Chechen rebel leader, had applied for political asylum in Turkey.

But Michael McCurry, Mr. Clinton's spokesman, said the United States had "no evidence" that Mr. Dudayev had sought or received asylum.

Mr. Yeltsin first lashed out about Chechnya in response to a Russian television reporter, who asked Mr. Clinton whether he was changing his mind about the Chechens because of the seizure of a hospital in southern Russia. Before he could answer, Mr. Yeltsin broke in to say that he himself was a hostage to the crisis, and that "my friend Bill" supported Russian action to suppress the rebellion.

Mr. Dudayev has asked Turkey to provide him with political protection, and Turkey has agreed," Mr. Yeltsin said later, his voice rising. "We don't care where he goes, as long as it is far, far away from Russia."

But Mr. Clinton, who sat impassively during Mr. Yeltsin's first outburst, took pains to say he differed with Mr. Yeltsin's characterization of his position on the conflict and said all terrorism had to be denounced.

The statements came at the end of a three-day summit meeting whose subjects ranged from reforming the world's main economic institutions to wrangling over how to pay for a rapid-reaction force in Bosnia. But the concluding

statement, in which Russia joined, the language on Iran was far more muted, and there was no mention of Chechnya.

Mr. Yeltsin scored a small victory when he persuaded the leaders here to join in a separate summit meeting next year in Russia on nuclear safety issues.

The leaders also created a task force on transnational organized crime, declaring that such crime is "a growing threat to the security of our nations" and to financial markets and emerging democracies. The task force is to report back at next year's meeting, in France.

The leaders told Mr. Yeltsin, who had been so eager to take part here that the Canadian hosts had to give him explicit instructions not to show up until late Friday afternoon, that they were not ready to accept Russia as a full member of a new Group of Eight. A senior administration official said the rest of the group was ready to accept Russia's membership "as soon as it's practical, but no specific commitment was made along those lines."

Part of the problem is that the Group of Seven industrial nations was first intended to be a meeting of great economic powers. And so far, Russia's economy hardly qualifies even though its political import — and its moves to adjust to capitalist realities — have been dominant theme of six successive summit meetings.

The seven leaders and Mr. Yeltsin spent much of their time Saturday talking about Bosnia, but they came up with no new proposals save for Mr. Yeltsin's offer that he was willing to use whatever influence he has left with the Serbs in Belgrade to end the conflict.

Perhaps Mr. Yeltsin's most welcome pronouncement was that the Russian economy, after years of shrinkage, had hit bottom and was beginning to grow. He predicted that after several years of shrinkage the economy is likely to record some modest growth this year, with its gross national product rising about 1 percent.

"The prevailing view was that there was real visible progress in Russia," Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin told reporters.

### HALIFAX: G-7 Summit a Lesson in Limits of Power

Continued from Page 1

opportunity with Mr. Clinton to gesticulate wildly and stage a rambling verbal attack on his enemies in Chechnya.

The summiteers devoted a few hours on Friday to discussing the world economy, the ostensible focus of the G-7's "economic summit." And while they are said to have examined the dangers of a brief recession in the United States and a banking crisis in Japan, their communiqué skipped lightly over any problems, noting that "there has been some slowing" of economic growth and predicting that all would soon be well again.

Another manifestation of the limits of G-7 power was the delicate subject of the dollar's weakness against the Japanese yen and the Deutsche mark. Most leaders recognized there was little they could do beyond keeping to prudent economic policies at home.

France's newly installed President Jacques Chirac, in one of several rhetorical bursts that characterized his rambunctious debut on the world stage, derided currency speculation as "the AIDS of the world economy." Some G-7 officials denied Mr. Chirac's remarks.

The G-7 communiqué offered a rather more sober pledge of continued cooperation in foreign exchange markets, while Prime Minister Lamberto Dini of Italy disclosed that G-7 leaders did not even discuss any new ways to tackle turbulence in currency markets.

Mr. Major was perhaps the bluntest in admitting the G-7's relative impotence in currency matters.

"If you took the foreign exchange reserves of all the G-7 nations and put them together, they still would be but a small portion of the daily turnover on the New York market," he said on Saturday. "I won't say there is nothing that can be done, but I would say it is on the margin."

Despite the sense of Halifax being a talkfest, the G-7 did manage to get some important if unspectacular work done in charting reforms that could help safeguard the stability of the international financial system in the future.

The meeting thus compared favorably with the last few do-nothing annual summits, and on the financial front it could even be chalked up as a modest success.

For example, Mr. Clinton did succeed in getting his G-7 partners to approve a plan to create an emergency fund, totaling as much as \$54 billion, which the International Monetary Fund could use in future Mexican-style financial crises.

### CHRISTO: Persistent Artist Begins Reichstag Project

Continued from Page 1

forecast, "it will be \$10 or \$11 million."

His "Wrapped Reichstag" proposal was rejected repeatedly by the German government during a 24-year epoch that saw the end of the Cold War, the reunification of Germany and a vote by the Bonn Parliament to move back to Berlin later this decade.

Meanwhile, their work continued apace, including the

wrapping of the Pont Neuf bridge in Paris in 1985 and the 1983 encirclement of 11 islands in Miami's Biscayne Bay with nearly 7 miles (11 kilometers) of floating pink plastic.

Doggedness paid off in February 1994, when Parliament voted, 292 to 223, to permit the wrapping, despite objections from Chancellor Helmut Kohl and others who felt the project would sully the Reichstag

Even though the party has been deprived of any seats in Parliament, the outcome of the municipal elections showed the far right continues to expand its support in the south and in border areas where many immigrants have settled.

The mainstream parties sought to block the National Front's growing influence by stealing some of its rhetoric and emphasizing the fight against crime and illegal immigration. After the first round of voting last Sunday, the opposition Socialists withdrew their candidates in favor of conservative candidates who were better

placed to defeat the National Front.

But the center-right ruling alliance refused to reciprocate in several towns where the Front scored well in the first round, prompting the Socialists to claim that Mr. Chirac's Gaullist party and its centrist partners were more interested in thwarting any gains by the democratic left than in stopping the far right.

In some of the biggest cities, the elections served as a test of political health for some of the country's top politicians.

Prime Minister Alain Juppé confirmed his popularity by winning election as mayor of Bordeaux. Mr. Juppé has spent his entire career in the shadow of Mr. Chirac, and his bid to establish a new municipal power base was considered an important step to bolster his status as Mr. Chirac's likely heir apparent.

According to early results,

### BOSNIA: Serbs Free Last Captives After UN Apparently Agrees to Halt Further Air Strikes

Continued from Page 1

tricity for almost a month. Shortly after the shelling, middle-aged women could be seen awkwardly trying to move quickly as they maneuvered wheelbarrows full of containers of water through the suburb. The scene, like many in this city, appeared to be lifted from some monstrous camp where human dignity is no more than a faint memory. Dobrinja was built in happier times, to house athletes at the 1984 winter Olympics.

It was a similar, if more murderous, shelling incident, at the Sarajevo market in February, 1994, that led the creation of the United Nations weapons-collection sites abandoned today. The wheel has thus come full circle after a brief season of hope.

The 26 hostages released Sunday by Dr. Karadžić included 11 Canadians and 15 United Nations military observers of various nationalities.

Like the more than 200 hostages released in three earlier batches, the peacekeepers were put on buses to the Serbian capital of Belgrade.

The United Nations had insisted on their unconditional release. But in the three weeks since their capture, Yasushi Akashi, the top United Nations official here, has issued a statement saying the forces here will adhere strictly to peacekeeping principles — tantamount to saying that the use of force, particularly NATO air strikes, is no longer envisaged.

This was the first demand set by Mr. Karadžić for the release of all the United Nations hostages.

The second was the release of the four Serbs captured after they and other Serbians forced down stolen United Nations uniforms to seize a French peacekeeping post. The incident led to the death of two French peacekeepers when

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Lake Piazza/Agence France Presse  
President Boris N. Yeltsin reacting to reporter's question at the Halifax summit meeting.

### MOSCOW: Russia Halts Fighting in Deal for Hostages

Continued from Page 1

the hostage crisis, which began last Wednesday when Mr. Basayev and a group of about 100 Chechen gunmen stormed into this town, killing and wounding dozens of civilians and policemen before holing up in the main hospital here with perhaps 1,300 hostages.

At 7:15 P.M. Sunday, a delegation dispatched by the Kremlin arrived in the bombed-out Chechen capital of Grozny. Its members said they were empowered to do everything possible, including meeting with the Chechen leader Dzhokar Dudayev in his mountain hideout, to try and bring peace to the region. Deputy Nationalities Minister Vyacheslav Mikhailov, head of the delegation, told reporters that negotiations would begin Monday morning and that as soon as the hostages were freed, Mr. Basayev and his fighters would be given free passage, with "complete safety, to any region of Chechnya."

At the same time, the Russian military commander of Chechnya, Interior Ministry Anatoli Kulikov, ordered his troops to halt all military operations as of 8 P.M. Sunday.

President Boris N. Yeltsin, returning from a meeting with leaders of the world's top industrial democracies in Halifax, Nova Scotia, was shown on television this evening accusing the hostage-takers of "unprecedented acts of cruelty," but urging restraint. "Revenge will not soothe grief, but only makes it worse," he said. Mr. Yeltsin urged local authorities to be on guard for future terrorist attacks.

The government's decision to negotiate with the hostage-takers came after two attacks Saturday by crack Russian Alpha Group troops set the hospital ablaze, left at least 20 hostages dead and dozens wounded, but failed to dislodge the rebels. The Russians managed to free perhaps 200 to 300 of the hostages, but hundreds more remained in captivity.

What seemed clear was that the desperate raid by Mr. Basayev, a bearded 30-year-old whose daring is legendary among his followers, had achieved what the Chechens could not in six months of war with Russia: force Moscow to engage in high-level talks.

Moreover, the public spectacle of the prime minister of Russia being impelled to negotiate on the airwaves with a man the Kremlin has publicly branded a terrorist seems a sign that the government has given up on a military solution to the hostage crisis, at least for now.

In a press conference in the hospital late Saturday, Mr. Basayev declared that if Moscow's war in Chechnya was not terrorism, "then this isn't either."

### FRANCE: National Front Wins First Mayoral Races

Continued from Page 1  
who are accused of taking jobs from native French workers.

The National Front stunned much of France's political establishment last month, when Mr. Le Pen won 15 percent of the votes in the first round of the presidential election.

Even though the party has been deprived of any seats in Parliament, the outcome of the municipal elections showed the far right continues to expand its support in the south and in border areas where many immigrants have settled.

The mainstream parties sought to block the National Front's growing influence by stealing some of its rhetoric and emphasizing the fight against crime and illegal immigration. After the first round of voting last Sunday, the opposition Socialists withdrew their candidates in favor of conservative candidates who were better

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According to early results,

## Australians Clash With Police at Rally Over Nuclear Tests

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

CANBERRA, Australia — About 500 people who oppose France's decision to conduct nuclear tests in the South Pacific staged a rowdy and sometimes violent demonstration outside the French Embassy on Sunday.

Three men were arrested when they broke through a line of police. Dozens of others scuffled with officers as organizers urged them to invade the compound.

It was the biggest anti-French protest since President Jacques Chirac announced Tuesday that France would conduct eight tests in Polynesia beginning in September.

Meanwhile, the police have confirmed that arsonists started a fire that razed the French Consulate in the western city of Perth before dawn Saturday.

A special police task force has been set up following angry demands by France for justice.

The protest in Canberra broke up after demonstrators left the embassy and marched to the home of Prime Minister Paul Keating, where they demanded that Australia invoke strong sanctions against France.

In Sydney, a group of French nationalists living in Australia also demonstrated outside that city's consulate against Mr. Chirac's decision. They asked Australians not to vent their anger on them. Some said they have been harassed and regularly insulted.

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# International Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

## Wars in the Old West

A sample of recent bulletins from America's Old West:

Montana rewrites some of the country's strongest water pollution laws as a favor to the mining industry.

Idaho lawmakers award potential polluters a major voice in setting standards for clean water.

Utah's governor rebuffs the stated wishes of Utah's citizens to set aside 5.7 million acres (2.3 million hectares) of state land as protected wilderness.

Washington state's legislature passes the nation's most far-reaching "takings" law, weakening essential land-use controls. Wyoming's legislature authorizes a bounty on wolves, which were recently reintroduced into Yellowstone National Park and are protected under the federal Endangered Species Act.

Clearly, the U.S. Congress is not the only place where laws protecting the environment are under siege.

Throughout the West, particularly in the Rocky Mountains, state legislators and governors, egged on by commercial interests and by small but noisy groups of property-rights advocates, are engaged in full-scale mutiny against federal and state regulations meant to protect what is left of America's natural resources.

What we are seeing is an updated but more ominous version of the Sagebrush Rebellion of the early Reagan years. That revolt was dominated by ranching interests protesting federal regulation of public lands. The present explosion embraces not only those familiar despilers but mining companies, timber barons, developers, big commercial farmers and virtually anyone else who stands to profit from relaxation of environmental controls.

The war in the West and in Congress on basic environmental protections have much in common. First, both are being driven and in some cases underwritten by big business. Second, both are being waged to save the "little guy" from federal tyranny. Third, this alleged little guy is nowhere to be found when the time comes to draft crippling legislation. Indeed, his wishes have been largely ignored.

Poll after poll suggests that what ordinary citizens want is more environmental protection if it means a cleaner environment and a healthier society. But that is not what this Congress and the Western allies want to give them.

Montana and Idaho are particularly sad cases. Despite citizen complaints, and virtually unanimous editorial opposition, two bills whistled through the Montana Legislature that would in effect permit higher levels of toxic wastes to reach the state's streams and lakes. They were signed, with some reluctance, by the governor. Mining lobbyists were conspicuous during the parliamentary maneuvering — including representatives from Crown Butte and its Canadian parent, Noranda Inc. These companies are working relentlessly for permission to build in geologically precarious terrain a gold mine that would leave a permanent reservoir of pollutants in the watershed of one of Montana's most important wilderness streams.

Idaho's people — not to mention its endangered Snake River salmon — face a double threat. Under a new statute, acceptable water quality levels will be set by watershed advisory groups. These groups will be well stocked with large landowners and representatives from timber, mining and agribusiness companies, who are virtually certain to write new and more permissive regulations.

Meanwhile, back in Washington, Senator Dirk Kempthorne, Republican of Idaho, is leading the Senate charge to cripple the Endangered Species Act, which provides what little protection the salmon have. If Mr. Kempthorne succeeds in transferring protection of endangered species from Washington to Boise, it will be goodbye salmon, with grizzlies and wolves to follow.

There are, of course, honorable exceptions. In Colorado, for example, ranchers, environmentalists and state officials were able to agree on less destructive grazing practices — although it took a half dozen or so exhausting visits from Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt to get the agreement.

But nearly everywhere one turns the anti-Washington ideologues seem to have the upper hand. The most conspicuous example is Nevada, where officials in Nye County passed a series of ordinances claiming ownership of federal lands and then set about physically intimidating employees from the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management. The Justice Department has now sued to reaffirm federal jurisdiction, but Nye County's rebels have inspired imitators. More than 70 rural Western counties have passed or proposed laws to "take back" the public lands.

Lost in all the rhetoric about individualism and states' rights is one basic legal fact: At no time have the Western public lands belonged to the states. They were acquired by treaty, conquest or purchase by the federal government acting on behalf of all the citizens of the United States.

Lost, too, is a colossal irony. Western ranchers have traditionally fed well at the trough of federal beneficence. In their war against Washington, they are hitting the hand that has fed them lavish subsidies and protected them against disasters of nature and the vagaries of the marketplace.

But all of this escapes the Sons of Sagebrushers. The fact that there might be an overriding national interest to preserving the public lands and forests from exploitation is not something that quickly pops to their minds.

Nor does this fact seem to register with the newer breed of rebels in the statehouses and state legislatures who would nullify more than two decades of struggle to clean America's waterways, preserve its wetlands and otherwise protect its dwindling natural heritage.

There can be no satisfaction in any of this — except perhaps to the enemies of the environment in a Congress that is well on its way to abandoning any pretense to national stewardship.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Clumsy Amendment

The U.S. Senate's overwhelming 84-16 vote for an amendment banning obscenity and indecency in on-line communications made a peculiar conclusion to a week in which political figures assailing violence and indecency in popular culture took care to stipulate at every opportunity that they were not calling for any form of government censorship. Unlike these careful critics, and unlike the many cases in which the cry of "censorship" is carelessly raised, the "communications decency" amendment sponsored by Senators James Exon and Dan Coats amounts to censorship in the genuine and sweeping sense. Whatever happens to the telecommunications bill as a whole, the Exon-Coats amendment should not be a part of it.

This is true even though the amendment was intended simply to protect minors from encountering indecent material as society ventures into a new medium that contains some undeniably cheesy sectors. Because the Exon-Coats amendment was modeled on older laws regulating obscenity and indecency in print and broadcast communications, it gives the impression of striking a careful balance, as those laws tried to do, between protecting children and restricting the free speech of consenting adults. But the new technology is so different from print and broadcast that the balancing doesn't work.

The clause was written without bearings on the new technologies and without a full appreciation of how differently they work. If passed, the law would heavily penalize, jail or fine anyone who "knowingly transmits" or "knowingly

makes available" indecent content to someone under 18. But on the Internet, the traditional distinction between a sender and a receiver of information doesn't hold; to "post" anything anywhere, in America or abroad, "makes it available" to millions of unidentified users who may get to it by a variety of technical routes and then make a copy for their own use. Material can thus be "received" without anybody "sending" it.

CARRIER services like CompuServe or America Online, which provide the technical access that allows this wandering and copying to take place, can exercise some control but not complete control over what is transmitted by them or to whom. In response to their complaints that they would be liable unless they screened every single message, an untenable proposition given the volume of traffic, lawmakers tried to build in defenses that would protect them from obscenity prosecution. But since some of the services involve selecting materials, there is reason to expect that those defenses might not hold up in court.

The House bill may include a far more sensible approach to on-line obscenity, modeled on one that Senator Pat Leahy tried and failed to attach to the Senate bill. It would fully study ways to protect minors from Internet smut at the receiving end, including software that would enable parents to filter out certain types of material directly at the terminal. Such technologies are already available. That is a far better approach than this clumsy ban.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Important Dirty Work for the U.S. Army

By Stephen S. Rosenfeld

WASHINGTON — What everyone who peers into the post-Cold War mists has been struggling to see is a true passage from familiar old-type national-interest threats, ones that required heavy commitments and heavy weapons, to new-type post-Cold War threats that require ... well, what? That's where many of us are hung up now.

But not Major Ralph Peters of the U.S. Army. Few have been more provocative or more diligent in pursuit of large and difficult truths than this former enlisted man, a best-selling novelist and currently a Penago intelligence analyst. He makes a strong and clarifying case for radical policy review in the summer issue of *Parameters*, the quarterly of the Army War College.

The military's abiding fascination with the marvelous new Iraq-proven technology troubles Major Peters. He fears it will produce "the most expensive white elephant in the history of mankind," and writes: "We are preparing for the war we want to fight someday, not for the conflicts we cannot avoid ... The real threats we face imply a new lease on life for skilled infantry and an enduring need for special operations forces."

The "unavoidable" conflicts he would prepare for arise from what he fairly describes as an unremarked development — the pervasive weakening of the nation-state. "From Colombia to Russia, traditional structures of government coexist nervously with emerging systems of resource allocation and human organization, from technico-capable crime networks to the machete-swinging clans of warlords, from Russian anarchocapitalism through economic migrations to the re-emergence of the city-state in places such as Cali, Sarajevo and Kabul."

Abroad, Major Peters suggests, the American model of civil-military relations in which the military looks outward and law-enforcement agencies tend to domestic order is buckling under pressure to confront the more powerful state-challenging criminal and terrorist organizations and "criminal enterprise armies." At home, use of the military appears inevitable to him, "at least on our borders and in some urban environments."

Major Peters would end "citizen-equivalent judicial treatment" of those foreign criminals who "have had a far more savage effect upon our country and its people than Saddam Hussein ever brought off ... The goal is not to try them in a court of law, but to kill them until the survivors quit."

He deplores the U.S. military's reluctance to join the war on drugs, which he attributes to a fear of failure. He would dutifully prepare for the traditionally "military" missions, plus the new one of missile defense. But he would be ready to engage with drugs and crime, terrorism, peacekeeping, illegal immigration, disease control, resource protection, impounding nuclear materials, attempting to alter the patterns of Haitian collective behavior" and the like. The grand rationale: "A military's reason for being is to do its nation's dirty work."

"This is a terribly changed and rapidly changing world," he concludes. "The U.S. armed forces must change with that world, and must change in ways that are fundamental — a new human understanding of our environment would be of far more use than any number of brilliant machines."

It's always helpful for us civilians to be reminded that the military makes space for challengers of the conventional wisdom. The "bureaucratic, budget-protecting, careerist side of the military is rarely lacking for public exposure. It is good to find the intellectually adventurous policy side getting in its ticks."

Not that Major Peters is everywhere on mark. His readiness to suspend "citizen-equivalent judicial treatment" is nutty. He has a streak of vigilanism. Perhaps some of those nation-states whose decline he is prepared to compensate for can still be revived.

Most important, though, is that his call to extend defense from vital interests to America's dirty work is not coming from a quarter that can be dismissed as hostile and ideological or amateur and uninformed. Quite the contrary. Hear out Major Peters:

"I personally love the army as it is, valuing its ethos, its rectitude, its invigorating routine, its respect for our heritage ... Selfishly, I do not want my army to change, and my secret fantasies run more to Sherman at Shiloh than to tracking desperate, malnourished and terrified economic refugees."

"I wish that the military that might descend safely from the revolution in military technology could be the sole answer to our nation's security challenges, but I cannot find grounds to believe it."

"It is a miserable prospect to be an officer faced with the need to argue in favor of filthy missions that will never entirely succeed and which will lend endless ammunition to those who loathe the institution that has given worth to my life. I wish that it could be otherwise."

*The Washington Post.*

## Sound Irish Policy, Had He Known When to Stop

By Thomas L. Friedman

BELFAST, Northern Ireland — Whenever you ask British officials about the Clinton administration's decision last year to grant a visa to Gerry Adams, the Irish Republican Army's political leader, you get this pained expression and then some version of the question: "How would you Americans like it if we gave a reception at 10 Downing Street for Timothy McVeigh and a few of his pals?"

The discussion usually descends from there into a venomous diatribe about how President Bill Clinton, in his quest for Irish-American votes, fell prey to a Kennedy-clan conspiracy. At that point, if you're smart, you'll mumble something about the weather in London being unusually rainy this year and shift the conversation to European Union agricultural policy.

Yes, the British were deeply upset with Mr. Clinton's Northern Ireland diplomacy. Yes, that diplomacy was motivated largely by a Clinton desire to gain favor with the 40 million voters of Irish descent. And yet, Mr. Clinton's decision to give Mr. Adams a visa in return for his commitment to a cease-fire may also have been the president's most original and successful foray into foreign affairs. After all, it has helped engineer the longest truce in Northern Ireland in 25 years.

What are the lessons here? The first is a simple reminder that more often than not diplomatic breakthroughs happen when key players do the right thing for the wrong reasons in the right place at the right time. Maybe Mr. Clinton's motives were wrong, but his timing was exquisite.

My sense from interviews here is that the British were so emotionally scarred by their years in Belfast that they had lost sight of just how deeply the Catholic and Protestant communities wanted

to end the fighting and just how much that sentiment had been communicated to the hard men conducting the street war.

By offering Mr. Adams a visa and American legitimacy, Mr. Clinton gave him the cover he needed to persuade his hard-liners to yield to the public's desire to move to the bargaining table.

Mr. Clinton has "Larry Kinged" Adams, which the Oxford English Dictionary defines as "a verb meaning to transform a fighter into a respectable world figure by giving him the opportunity for repeated interviews on CNN." Britain was unable or unwilling to give Mr. Adams that kind of opportunity and therefore it could not nurture this historic moment to half the fighting.

There is another lesson. When domestic politics drives foreign policy, the danger is an administration will not know when to stop. This is particularly true when the absence of an overriding

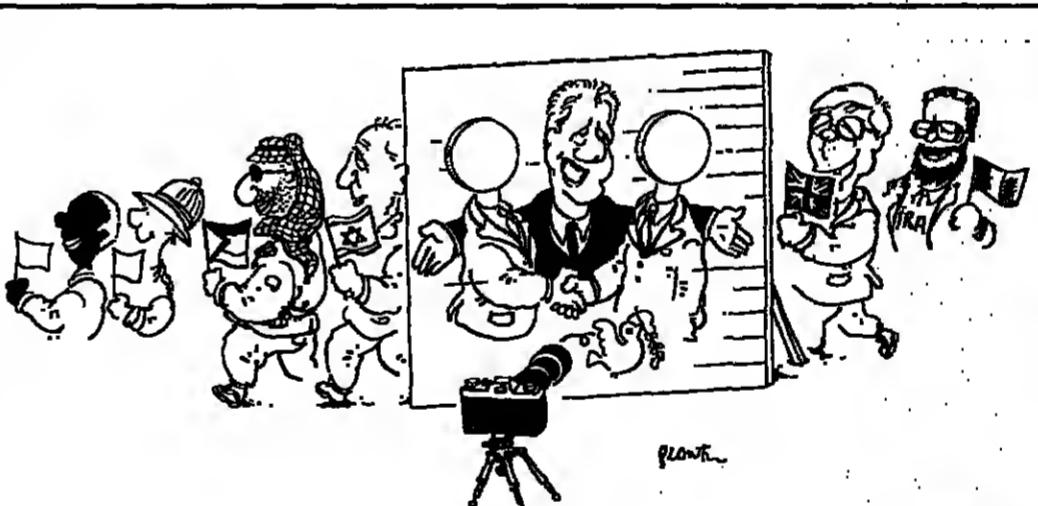
opportunity to force a breakthrough.

It is not the first time the administration has shown it doesn't know where to draw the line between politics and diplomacy. Last April, Mr. Clinton announced his decision to impose a full economic embargo on Iran. It was the right thing to do. But Mr. Clinton could not resist making the announcement at a World Jewish Congress dinner, while wearing a yarmulke.

It left the impression with the Iranians, the Muslim world and the allies that the U.S. embargo was not a fundamental American and global interest, but was just pandering to a single U.S. interest group and therefore not to be taken seriously.

Every administration introduces crass domestic politics into foreign policy. But you have to know when to stop. In diplomacy, the road to success is often paved with bad intentions. But so is the road to ruin. Wisdom is knowing where the fork is.

*The New York Times.*



## For Europe, Contradictions Argue for Flexibility

By William Pfaff

KREMS, Austria — The contradictions in Europe's unionification plans finally are being admitted, as the countries committed to the Maastricht treaty program for federal integration of Europe prepare for the intergovernmental conference next year that will reappraise the Maastricht measures.

These contradictions were apparent at a government-sponsored meeting just held in this regional capital, marking the anniversary of the Austrian referendum vote last June to join the European Union.

The expression here of the Austrian government's ambi-

dependent European Commission which will effectively realize its role as the "motor" of integration. It also wants the smaller countries to keep the disproportionate influence they now have in the Council of Ministers, the Commission and the rotating European presidency. Another approach.

The Austrians want monetary and economic union. On security and foreign policy, they want decisions made "by qualified majority." Here of course is where the contradictions in Europe's ambitions are the most obvious, as during the last four futile years of European intervention in the Yugoslav war.

It is impossible to have a common foreign and security policy for Europe if Europe's member governments cannot agree on what to do, and that is likely to be the case in any crisis which, as in the Yugoslav instance, is costly, requires military action and puts European citizens at serious risk.

The British, French and Dutch seemed recently to have finally agreed to a belligerent reinforcement of the United Nations protection force, under independent command. But they now seem to be backing off even on that, placing it under the United Nations. They are also influenced by the United States, of course, which has talked a great game in Bosnia but seems unwilling even to contribute to the costs of the rapid reaction force, much less join it.

Austria wants "leaner and more efficient decision-making and legislative procedures with majority voting as the rule" in Europe, with a "strong and in-

dependent verbal reconciliation of the irreconcilable, but whether so impressive a demi-miracle can be produced in the material world must await an answer.

The effort is likely to incorporate more exceptions than most Europeans now expect. However, Yet the CDU also wants the EU to move from being an association based upon treaty relationships to a constitutional union. Again an apparent contradiction.

France, the other engine of federal union, now is led by a party traditionally committed to "Europe of Nations," and is reluctant even fully to apply the Schengen agreement on free movement within European borders.

Austria attempts to reconcile these contradictions through the notion of "differentiated integration." All should strive toward integration even if they can't currently manage it. Different rates of integration should be the exception rather than the rule. The ultimate goal should be the same for all.

Differences must not be allowed which would give one country a competitive advantage ("through environmental or social dumping") — a transparent allusion to Britain's rejection of the European Social Charter, concerning wages and labor protection.

And there should be no permanent division between "classes" of member countries (another allusion, this time to the German CDU's idea of a core Europe of countries committed to full integration surrounded by others more loosely linked to the Union).

These formulas provide a sat-

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## CAPITAL MARKETS ON MONDAY

**Most Active International Bonds**

1025 most active international bonds traded through the Euroclear system for the week ending June 16. Prices supplied by Telekurs.

Name	Ccy	Maturity	Price	Yield
Australian Dollar				
Queensland Tav.	0	05/14/97	100,5000	7,5600
Austrian Schilling				
Austria	7	02/14/98	103,0000	6,8200
British Pound				
London Finance	8	02/27/96	104,5000	8,2700
Canadian Dollar				
IFC	zero	09/15/00	97,7500	7,9900
Swiss Franc				
Denmark	7	12/15/04	91,4000	7,4400
Denmark	8	11/15/05	104,8000	6,5800
Denmark	9	11/15/06	104,9000	6,0000
Denmark	8	05/15/03	104,4000	8,2200
Denmark	9	11/15/04	102,8000	8,9200
Denmark	7	03/15/05	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	9	03/15/06	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	7	03/15/07	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	9	03/15/08	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	7	03/15/09	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	9	03/15/10	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	7	03/15/11	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	9	03/15/12	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	7	03/15/13	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	9	03/15/14	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	7	03/15/15	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	9	03/15/16	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	7	03/15/17	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	9	03/15/18	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	7	03/15/19	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	9	03/15/20	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	7	03/15/21	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	9	03/15/22	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	7	03/15/23	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	9	03/15/24	102,8000	8,2200
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Denmark	7	03/15/27	102,8000	8,2200
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Denmark	7	03/15/67	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	9	03/15/68	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	7	03/15/69	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	9	03/15/70	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	7	03/15/71	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	9	03/15/72	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	7	03/15/73	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	9	03/15/74	102,8000	8,2200
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Denmark	9	03/15/76	102,8000	8,2200
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Denmark	7	03/15/23	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	9	03/15/24	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	7	03/15/25	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	9	03/15/26	102,8000	8,2200
Denmark	7	03/15/27	102,8000	8,2200
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## Opium Firm Plans to Go Public

**LONDON** — The descendant of a company that once supplied Queen Victoria with a tincture of opium is about to float its shares on London's stock market.

Nowadays, heroin and cocaine are usually associated with gun-toting drug lords and sordid crack den rather than royalty, but for a British firm called Meconic PLC, legal dealing in such substances constitutes a profitable niche market.

Meconic is one of the few companies in the world to have a license for trading in opiates and other controlled drugs, which are supplied to the pharmaceutical industry to turn into medicines, usually painkillers.

The company dominates its field with

more than 20 percent of the global market, and later this month its shares will begin to trade in a move aimed at raising £17.5 million (\$28.5 million).

"It's not a big market, but we do have the largest share in it," said Marshall Smalley, Meconic's managing director.

Mr. Smalley estimates the official world market for controlled drugs, of which the vast majority are opiates, at about £100 million.

Mindful of the violence and social ills associated with the illegal drug trade, Meconic operates in one of the world's most tightly regulated markets.

Strict quotas, agreed more than a year in advance, govern the amount of opium poppies grown and also the orders for drugs in which the resulting opiates will be used. The Vienna-based International

Narcotics Control Board regulates the quotas and makes sure the sums add up.

Meconic snaps up about 50 of the world's legal opium poppy crop and turns it into ingredients for drugs ranging from headache pills to pellets designed to stun charging rhinos.

The company makes about 200 kilograms (440 pounds) of medical heroin a year, as well as a much smaller amount of cocaine, which is used to treat facial pain. Larger amounts of more common opiates, such as codeine and morphine, form the core of the business.

These products are then sold to 69 countries worldwide. Despite the tight rules governing the market, Mr. Smalley says the number of consumer countries is steadily expanding.

## NEWSPAPER: Publishers Use Internet to Reach Readers Worldwide

Continued from Page 13  
ing, after years of debate on whether commercials should have a place on the internet.

Advertising also is contributing to an explosion in the growth of on-line newspapers. Steve Outing, a newspaper consultant, says the number of publications with on-line services increased fivefold between 1993 and 1994, to 100. He estimates there will be 100

tal of 500 by the end of this year and 2,000 in two years.

The Washington Post's online service, Digital Ink, due later this summer, will provide full text of all Post stories, news and information that is not published in the paper, and access to Post archives back to 1986.

Although traditional newspapers may compete tooth and nail, on-line newspapers seem compiled by aficionados.

Steve Outing maintains a good international list, the most detailed in terms of giving in-

formation about what each newspaper is offering, at: <http://marketplace.com:80/epapers.list/www>.

Internet access to many newspapers, including the International Herald Tribune, is limited to electronic-mail correspondence with readers. The IHT plans to have an entire Web site later this year.

Internet address: [CyberSea-pe@jhu-lib.demon.co.uk](mailto:CyberSea-pe@jhu-lib.demon.co.uk)

## The Week Ahead: World Economic Calendar, June 19 - 24

A schedule of this week's economic and financial events compiled for the International Herald Tribune by Bloomberg Business News.

### Asia-Pacific

• June 19 Melbourne Broken Hill Proprietary Co. releases its May production report.

• Sydney April housing finance figures; Australia Price Life Policy Plus Pooled Superannuation Trust launched; Taipei Board of Taipei Stock Exchange meets to elect a new chairman.

Tokyo May money supply; Bank of Japan releases April current account figures.

• June 20 Kuala Lumpur Berjaya Leisure Bhd. holds a special shareholder meeting to discuss the proposed acquisition of a controlling stake in Hotel Park Bhd.

Sydney May import figures; Taipei May export data; May industrial production.

Tokyo Federation of Electric Power Companies releases May electric usage.

• June 21 Manila Initial public offering of \$17 million Ionic Circuits Inc. shares, at 17 pesos each.

• June 22 Hong Kong May consumer price index.

• June 23 Sydney Tom Sherman, chairman of the National Crime Authority, gives an address on "Professional Adversaries and Organized Crime."

### Europe

• June 19 Copenhagen First-quarter gross domestic product; President Preliminary June cost of living for Baden-Wurttemberg, North-Rhine-Westphalia and Hesse; May wholesale price index; February manufacturing output; May consumer price index; fourth-quarter 1994 M3 money supply.

London May consumer price index; fourth-quarter 1994 M3; May deficit.

Rome April balance of trade.

Vienna May unemployment rate; National bank holds press conference.

• June 20 Paris April balance of trade.

Paris Prime Minister Tomasi Murayama of Japan meets President Jacques Chirac of France.

Rome Italian April industrial production.

Vienna May producer price index.

• June 21 Copenhagen May current account; Paris April producer price index.

London May money supply; May net new commercial loans.

Stockholm Riksbank presents its inflation report.

Warren April trade balance.

Copenhagen April industrial production.

Paris March current account.

London May balance of trade, non-European Union; minutes of May 5 meeting between Chancellor of the Exchequer Kenneth Clarke and the Bank of England governor reviewed.

Paris Prime Minister Alain Juppé likely to present budget.

Prague First-quarter gross domestic product.

Rome Italian office June consumer price index.

Stockholm April current account; Stockholm holds press conference.

Warren April trade balance.

Copenhagen April industrial production.

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## SPORTS

# MOC Reverses Its Field, Letting Samaranch Run

Reuters

BUDAPEST — The International Olympic Committee performed a gold medal back flip on Sunday and voted to hand IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch the chance for a fourth term in office.

Only three days after Samaranch suffered a stinging defeat over plans to scrap an age limit of 75, the Spaniard's closest IOC allies whipped up support for an age limit of 80 that could keep him in power until 2001.

Under the old rules, the 74-year-old president would have had to retire in 1997 at the end of his current term.

But Samaranch said he would make no decision on whether to run again until after next year's Atlanta Games and promised rivals seven or eight months to campaign against him.

"Now I have the possibility to run again in 1997, but I know my age and I'll make the final decision at the end of next year," Samaranch said at the end of a week of IOC meetings.

"I have to be very frank with you, but I enjoy very much what I am doing," he added.

Supporters of the age limit had warned that a change just to keep Samaranch in power could make the IOC "laughing stocks." But they were forced to

retreat after a group of Samaranch's supporters collected signatures from 70 of 95 IOC members supporting a higher limit.

The group, which included Primo Nebiolo, president of the International Amateur Athletic Federation, and Joao Havrelange, head of FIFIA, proposed a floating age limit of 75 to 80.

The petition was handed to the IOC's executive board, which decided to put a straight age limit of 80 on the agenda of the last morning's meeting.

Procedurally, the petition worked because members had voted on Thursday to change the age limit, although none of three options were backed by the two-thirds majority needed to change the Olympic Charter.

While voting on Thursday had been by secret ballot, Samaranch brushed aside calls for a similar ballot on Sunday and asked for a show of hands.

Ten members, mostly Europeans and North Americans, voted against, two abstained and the remaining 74 — who never needed to raise their hands — supported the motion.

Samaranch conceded it had been a mistake to give the IOC a choice in the earlier debate. "If we have something to vote on in the future, we will present only one option," he said.

Nicholas Kevin Gosper was elected to the executive board.

An IAAF change designed to allow Michael Johnson's attempt at a unique Olympic double next year appeared to founder when the U.S. sprinter said the new timetable was still out.

Nebiolo said Saturday that the 200 semifinals on the sixth day of the Games' athletics program had been moved back from 6:30 P.M. to 6:30 while the 400 final would now be staged at 9:05 instead of 8:30.

"If he runs backward he could still do it," Nebiolo said of Johnson. "The schedule is very good for him."

Nebiolo added: "I wrote to him to be tranquil. The schedule



Courtesy Agence France Presse

Samaranch, right, with an IOC official in Budapest.

is good and he could be the hero of the athletics in Atlanta."

But Johnson, who is aiming to become the first man to win world titles in both events in Gothenburg this August, said he would only attempt the double in the 200 if that isn't done then I can't do it."

is the 400 final before starting the 200 preliminary rounds.

"This is not what I'm looking for," Johnson said. "I would have to finish all four rounds of the 400 before I start the 200. If that isn't done then I can't do it."

## McLaren Wins At Le Mans as Andretti Is 2d

The Associated Press

LE MANS, France — A McLaren BMW F1 GTR held off a charging finish by a Courage-Porsche to win the Le Mans 24 Hours race Sunday by less than a lap.

Yannick Dalmas of France, JJ. Lehto of Finland and Masanori Sekiya of Japan drove the winning McLaren to spoil Mano Andretti's chance to gain three lengths, was believed to have suffered a heart attack.

PARIS (Reuter) — Tragedy struck the Grand Steeple-Chase de Paris at Auteuil on Sunday when Ubu III collapsed and died shortly after the winning the race.

Ubu III, who had just given trainer Francois Dounen his fourth success in the prestigious by defeating stablemate Val d'Aleme by three lengths, was believed to have suffered a heart attack.

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## Springboks Reach Final French Fall Short

By Jan Thomassen  
International Herald Tribune

**C** DURBAN, South Africa — Suddenly, brown-green camouflage shirts were giving way rather softly in the mud. Abdel Benazzi himself couldn't be seen, but he was displacing bodies like a mole leaving a trail in the earth, and you would have sworn he had punched through France and knocked out South Africa two minutes from the end of injury time.

"We just dove on him from behind and he sides," said the South African captain, **A**ndré Pienaar. "When we cleared every out of the mud, the ball was this far on the line. This much. That is the difference between being in the final and not being in the final."

He was holding his fingers an inch, or three centimeters, apart. So South Africa goes to the Rugby World Cup final next Saturday in Johannesburg, heroically if not brilliantly, having survived the predictable French onslaught with the resiliency of a fence staked deep in the soft ground to win, 19-15.

Afterward, there was a lot of talk that the semifinal should not have been played on Saturday, though no argument came from the classy French coach, Pierre Berbizier. A storm beginning 24 hours earlier had deluged the field, forcing an hour's postponement of the scheduled 3 P.M. kickoff. In the interim, the rain stopped, and the match was postponed again until 4:30 in vain hope that the pitch might drain. By then, according to Pienaar, players on both sides were drained most of all by the extended warmups and the waiting.

That itself wasn't so bad; and never even mind the harsh conditions, which ultimately emphasized the struggle. The trouble was the rules — old amateur rules governed by modern commercial motives. If another terrific storm had forced the match to be abandoned in the first half, a decision to be left solely to the Welsh referee, Derek Bevan, the victory would have been given to the team with the most tries in that half. With no tries, then South Africa would have been knocked out on the second tiebreaker, for having had more players sent off during the tournament.

It's a high amateur ideal to punish a team for bad behavior, but such ideals surely are irrelevant when tournaments officials are admittedly deciding to play on (despite the weather) because of worldwide TV schedules, local hotel bookings and the enormous numbers of spectators planning to jet out that night who couldn't have stayed for the following day. It's the fifth-largest sporting event in the world, not some local derby. One more outburst from low pressure system, forcing the referee to abandon the match, could have dismissed South Africa from its own tournament — and then what in this divided, edgy country?

As it was, the ratio continued intermit-



Jonah Lomu ran through and over England's defenders for four tries.

tently, leaving gray, floodlit puddles that splashed with every step. The Springboks came out like something released from a cage, stealing the kickoff to earn a third-minute penalty for Joel Stransky (14 points overall). It was 10-0 to a 26th-minute try by flanker Robin Kruger, driven over in the mud after a breakaway from the lineout by Joost van der Westhuizen. (Van der Westhuizen, maybe the world's best scrum-half, was forced out in the 52d minute with a rib injury, but he is expected to return for the final.)

The deteriorating field underlined the French inability all this year to force the issue. Instead they react, finding their strength when others would panic. Unfortunately for them, the try they needed would have been easier in the early going. Their desire to run grew throughout the dark afternoon against the ever-smothering weather.

The magnificent Thierry Lacroix, who made all but one of his penalties (finishing with 104 points, one short of the World Cup record of Scotland's Gavin Hastings), put France behind by just 10-6 at the half.

His only miss, from a harsh angle in the 65th minute, might have made all the difference. Meanwhile, Stransky was recovering from three misses to convert in the 77th minute and force the French to find the final play two weeks earlier.

It almost happened after a knock-on by South African wing James Small, trying to field a punt inside his 22-meter line. Then fullback Andre Joubert, brilliant in spite of the soft green cast protecting the broken bone in his left hand, fumbled an up-and-down from the mercurial Christophe Deyland — and it was seized upon by the flanker Benazzi as a dozen dirty faces flared about in the mud. The resulting scrum had to be reformed four agonizing times until the ball was cleared to Lacroix, who was thumped down immediately.

"Looking back, I don't care how we won," Pienaar said. "We'll start to concentrate on the final when we know who we're going to be playing. For now I don't know how to put it. It means a tremendous deal for us to be there. To try to express it in words would be futile."

## Lomu Leaves the English Gasping 4 Tries Advance All Blacks, 45-29, to Rugby Cup Final

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

CAPE TOWN — Jonah Lomu gave one of the most awesome individual displays in World Cup history on Sunday as New Zealand buried England, 45-29, en route to a showdown against South Africa in Saturday's final at Ellis Park.

The giant winger thundered over for four tries, two in each half, as the All Blacks quickly squashed the high hopes held by England after its quarterfinal victory over defending champion Australia the previous week.

New Zealand led by 33-3 with half an hour to go. England then rallied to make the score more respectable with four tries, winger Roy Underwood and captain Will Carling each getting two.

Underwood has now scored a record 11 tries in the World Cup. But all the Black's points were the most ever conceded by England.

New Zealand fly-half Andrew Mehrtens, with 12 points, also broke the world record of compatriot Grant Fox by reaching 100 test points in only his fifth international.

But the performances of all the other

players on the field were dwarfed by Lomu, who stands 1.95 meters, weighs 118 kilograms and, at just 20 years of age, is the most physically impressive rugby player in modern times.

"We didn't quite come up with a solution," said Carling. "He's a freak. The sooner he goes away the better."

"I've never seen anything like him," said Underwood.

Two England players ran into each other going for New Zealand's opening kick off, and things quickly got worse for Carling's side.

Lomu scored his first try three minutes later, evading two tacklers and bowling over Mike Cain along the way. A ruck off the ensuing kick off got the ball to All Black Walter Little, who broke Jeremy Guscott's tackle and started a long run with Glenn Osborne that ended with Kronsfeld diving over in the corner.

Mehrtens added a penalty and Brooke made his drop goal on a running kick from about 30 meters before Lomu scored his second try, sidestepping Rob Andrew for an easy sprint behind the posts.

Andrew, who missed a drop goal and

two penalties, kicked a penalty just before the half to and make the score 25-3.

Lomu ended any doubt of a comeback with his third try, into the corner early in the second half, and Graeme Bathop also ran in an easy one as England lost heart.

Underwood and Carling added what amounted to consolation tries in the final 20 minutes, before Lomu again flew by the defensive line for his fourth try.

Carling and Underwood added final tries in the closing minutes, and Mehrtens, with a drop goal, set his record.

A capacity crowd of more than 50,000 at Newlands sang lustily, many waving English flags with faces painted red and white while a smaller but equally loud contingent cheered the All Blacks.

"We always knew that we had to make our first tackles and put pressure on New Zealand," said Carling.

"But we had one of the worst possible starts against a team who played incredible rugby, very fast, very dynamic and very direct."

"We were shocked in the first half but I was delighted with the way we came back in the second," he added. (AP, Reuters)

## Lehman and Norman Share Golf Lead 2 Tied at Par Atop a Bunched U.S. Open Field

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

SOUTHAMPTON, New York — Tom Lehman bogeyed the ninth hole to drop back into a tie for the lead with Greg Norman going into the last nine holes of the U.S. Open golf championship Sunday.

Lehman and Norman, who began the breezy day at Shinnecock Hills Golf Club knotted in a one-under-par 209, both lost a stroke over the outward half to stand at even par, one better than Bob Tway.

Tway, who like Norman also contended for the title the last time the Open was held at Shinnecock in 1986, had shared the lead until bogeys at the eighth and 10th holes dropped him to one over par.

Davis Love 3d and Corey Pavin were another stroke away at two over, with Britton Tan Woods and Phil Mickelson another shot adrift.

Gentler winds in the morning, combined with more generous pin placements, had helped many early starters to post low rounds.

But with winds stiffening and major championship pressure mounting, very few buddies were being scored by the co-

wind's picking up now and it's going to play a lot tougher."

Masters champion Ben Crenshaw, who shot 75 for 297, said: "The greens seem a little drier. They have a sheen to them. I expect a lot of blood and sweat."

Approach shots seemed harder to contain on the greens as the day wore on. Norman, driving the ball much more consistently than he had Saturday, still had trouble holding the green.

A weak chip from off the green at the second hole required two putts to get down to the Australian took a bogey.

Lehman birdied the second hole to reach two under par, one better at the time that Tway, who had birdied the second hole. But Lehman bogeyed the next hole to post 68 in U.S. Open history.

Lancaster birdied four holes in a row from the 11th and added birdies at 16 and 17 as he toured the inward half without a bogey.

"The golf course was pretty docile when we went out yesterday," said Hal Sutton, who registered a 68 for 289. "The

wind's picking up now and it's going to play a lot tougher."

Masters champion Ben Crenshaw, who shot 75 for 297, said: "The greens seem a little drier. They have a sheen to them. I expect a lot of blood and sweat."

"I couldn't come up with a course that was as difficult as Shinnecock played today," Norman said after shooting a 4-over par 74. "I really can't remember a day when a course was so tough. I really can't remember a day when such great players were bumbled."

Norman, who had a chance to hold the lead alone going into Sunday's final round but missed a 1.3-meter (4-foot) birdie putt on the last hole, said: "Shooting 74 was the equivalent of shooting 62." Asked about Lehman's 67, Norman said: "He shot 59."

"You can't tame this course, you just survive," Lehman said after his four-birdie, one-bogey round. "It's very, very easy to shoot 75 on a day like today."

That's almost what Norman did. The second-round leader, trying to win his first major championship in the United States, shot a 74 and it was anything but easy. In fact, it was par on a course that averaged 74.2 in the third round.

"I'm proud of myself," Norman said. "Today was a real test of your character."

The already difficult Shinnecock layout was made even tougher by wind that dried the course into a lightning-fast track and knocked around shots with 35 mph (22 mph) gusts.

Of the 73 golfers, only Lehman, Woosnam with a 69 and Gary Hallberg, also with a 69, broke par. (Reuters, AP)

## Cup Semifinals Scores Following the Third Round of the U.S. Open Golf Tournament

Sunday's Game	Monday's Game	Tuesday's Game	Wednesday's Game	Thursday's Game	Friday's Game	Saturday's Game
New Zealand 45, England 29						
New Zealand 14, France 13						
England: Tries: Will Carling (2), Rory Underwood (2), Conversions: Rob Andrew (3), Penalty: Andrew (3).						
France: Tries: Thierry Lacroix (2), Conversions: Joel Stransky (4), Penalties: Stransky (4).						
To subscribe in Germany just call toll free, 0130 84 65 85						

Greg Norman	68-72-74-209	Scott Hoch	74-72-70-216	John Mogilsky	75-71-74-220	Mike Stadny	75-72-147	Gary Koch	74-76-159
Tom Lehman	70-72-71-210	Pete向往	74-71-71-216	John Connolly	75-71-76-220	Doug Martin	72-72-147	David Feherty	76-74-154
Bob Tway	69-71-72-210	Phil Mickelson	70-72-71-216	Patrick Flanagan	75-71-76-220	Eric Prince	72-72-147	Geoffrey Slak	76-71-154
Will Carling	68-70-72-210	Scott Simpson	63-75-74-216	Tommy Armour III	77-78-74-220	Benji Weisbrod	72-71-147	Jon Charles	76-78-154
Rory Underwood	72-71-71-212	Dirfy Walden	72-70-75-217	Bob Burns	73-72-75-220	Mark O'Meara	72-71-147	John Smiley	82-73-155
Rob Andrew	72-71-71-212	Barry Lane	74-72-71-217	Colin Montgomerie	71-74-75-220	Dano O'Riley	71-71-147	D.J. Holland	75-80-155
Joel Stransky	71-70-71-212	Jenny Ozaki	69-68-80-217	Tom Watson	70-73-77-220	Patrick Moore	77-70-147	Rick Casper	75-75-155
Steve Patek	71-70-71-212	Mike Cowan	71-70-71-218	David Gilford	71-72-77-220	Ernie Els	74-72-147	Clark Damm	76-78-155
Steve Vardon	71-70-71-212	Nick Price	66-72-72-218	Brook仝森	71-73-77-221	David Gilford	72-71-147	Tony Finau	76-75-155
Chris Wicks	72-68-72-213	Mike Hubbard	72-68-72-218	Hal Sutton	71-74-76-221	Per-Ulrik John	74-71-147	John Catania	81-73-156
David Love III	72-68-72-213	Payne Stewart	70-71-72-218	John Cook	70-73-76-221	Tim Hobby	73-76-147	Mike Springer	75-81-156
Vicar Singh	72-68-72-213	Steve Strickland	72-68-72-218	Christian George	74-71-76-221	Jeff Adriano	73-75-147	Stiven Hodgey	76-77-156
Frank Nobilo	72-68-72-213	Peter Senior	72-68-72-218	Mike McPherson	74-71-76-221	David Faxon	73-75-147	Colin Steepe	76-77-156
Lee Janzen	72-68-72-213	Mike Rose	72-68-72-218	Bill Porter	73-70-70-222	Mike San Filipe	74-75-147	Adam Scott	75-81-156
Mark Roe	72-68-72-213	Billy Andrade</							

## LANGUAGE

*Bloopies: And the Loser Is ...*

By William Safire

**WASHINGTON** — Now is the moment for the dread Bloopie Awards, formerly the coveted Bloopie Awards. (And why do we drop the *-ed* from *dread-ed?* Because the shorter and simpler *dread* shifted to adjective use in the 14th century.)

First, a note about a disturbing trend: What's the matter with advertising copywriters. What have they got against question marks?

"Who says you can't afford dental insurance," half-asks Crest, which needs to see its interrogator twice a year. Luv Diapers tries the same trick: "Isn't it great to be in Luv's?" it says, but does not ask: What's with these guys.

And now — push the envelope, please. The snake-eyes award for stave-sensored grammatical corruption while undermining the morals of minors with a promise of something for nothing goes to New York state's Loto croupiers for "Tomorrow night, someone could win 6 million dollars." What illiterate card shark on the public payroll inflicted the unnecessary?

For the financial institution whose name is most likely to go out of date in five short years, the Bloopie goes to Twentieth Century Mutual Funds for confusion between number and amount: "When today's 30-year-olds retire, there will be less than two workers per beneficiary." Fewer workers, of course, and the funds dealing with the 30-somethings or with 30 squalling year-olds? Better put a hyphen after the 30.

In a related gaffe, a runner-up Bloopie is awarded to the quasi-governmental entity known familiarly as Sallie Mae, which underwrites loans to college students, for its overreaching: "Over the past 20 years . . . by helping over 20 million students." The first *over* is O.K., because it is a permissible substitute for "during," but the second *over* flunks: with numbers, like "20 million," the correct form is *more than*.

*Subjunctive junk bond* of the year shared in this triple dead heat: (1) Whirlpool's "Ever wish there was a team of you . . . ?" The subjunctive mood is used to express a condition contrary to fact. Since there is only one of you, no matter what you wish, it should be "Ever wish there were . . . ?" But give the writer credit for a question

mark. (2) Ford's "But it wouldn't be the Best-Selling Truck 16 years running if it wasn't built Ford Tough" suggests to sub-junctive fans that Fords are not built Ford tough; should be "if it weren't." Those car windows are befogged by (3) Windex, which offers: "How to make a room smell like the windows are always open." When a whole clause — subject and verb — follows the conjunction, *like* is incorrect; it should be *as if*. In this case, it should be *as if*: "How to make a room smell as if the windows (hold it — you are now in the subjunctive, because the windows are not really always open) were always open."

The fiercely glaring eyes over the bulbous nose of J. Pierpont himself deplored the practices of variant spellers Bloopie to the banking house of J.P. Morgan for "You've just come into a sizeable sum of money." In American English, the preferred spelling is *sizeable*, no e.

The compounded abuse of sentence fragments Bloopie to Kotex Security Tampons for "Smooth and simple outside. Conforms to your body inside." Remember the humble rule: No sentence fragments. But if you are impelled to leave your sentences in shards, at least observe the rule for parallel construction: "Smooth and simple outside" doesn't have a verb, while "Conforms to your body inside" does. If you began the first one with the verb *Stays*, the two fragments would be parallel.

The *Ungodlypeople Bloopie* bestowed by dozens of Gogchial gangsters to an errant language maven for an o-so-solemn motto: "Recently I was reading, and disagreeing, with a New York Times editorial about standards for teaching history."

Shows how important a comma can be. The first comma is fine, but the separation of a verb and its object by a parenthetical phrase. The trouble with the second comma is its placement. With belongs in the parenthetical phrase with *disagreeing*; as it now reads, removing that phrase would leave "I was reading with a New York Times editorial."

Change that to "Recently I was reading, and disagreeing with . . ." Copywriters can feel free to read, and disagree with, the strictures herein, but the complainers don't get to put a Bloopie on their mantel.

*The New York Times.*

## Success in Europe After Fiasco in New York

By Alan Riding  
New York Times Service

**L**ONDON — Francesca Zambello still bristles at the memory of the hostile reception given to her production of Donizetti's "Lucia di Lammermoor" at the Metropolitan Opera two seasons ago, but that "bof-fest," as she puts it, has clearly done nothing to damage the young American director's growing recognition in Europe.

This season, her debut at London's two opera houses have been hits. She won a coveted Olivier Award for her production of Mussorgsky's "Khovanschina" at the English National Opera, while her production of Britten's "Billy Budd" at the Royal Opera House, which opened on May 30, was warmly received by most British critics.

Although only 37, Zambello has already worked in many of Europe's top opera houses and she will be back at Covent Garden in September to direct the world premiere of Alexander Goehr's "Arianna."

Next spring, she will make her debut at the Bastille Opéra in Paris with "Billy Budd," a work that she first directed in Geneva last year.

So, she was asked, has her rough ride with "Lucia" led her to turn her back on the United States? Not so, insisted Zambello, a tall, long-haired New Yorker.

Her experience at the Met — her "Lucia" prompted laughter as well as passionate boos — has left its mark.

Looking back, she said part of the Met's audience was evidently taken aback by her "feminist interpretation" of Lucia, not as a "classic victim" but as a heroine who chooses madness as a form of liberation. "Still, even if they didn't like what I did, it made them take the piece seriously," she added.

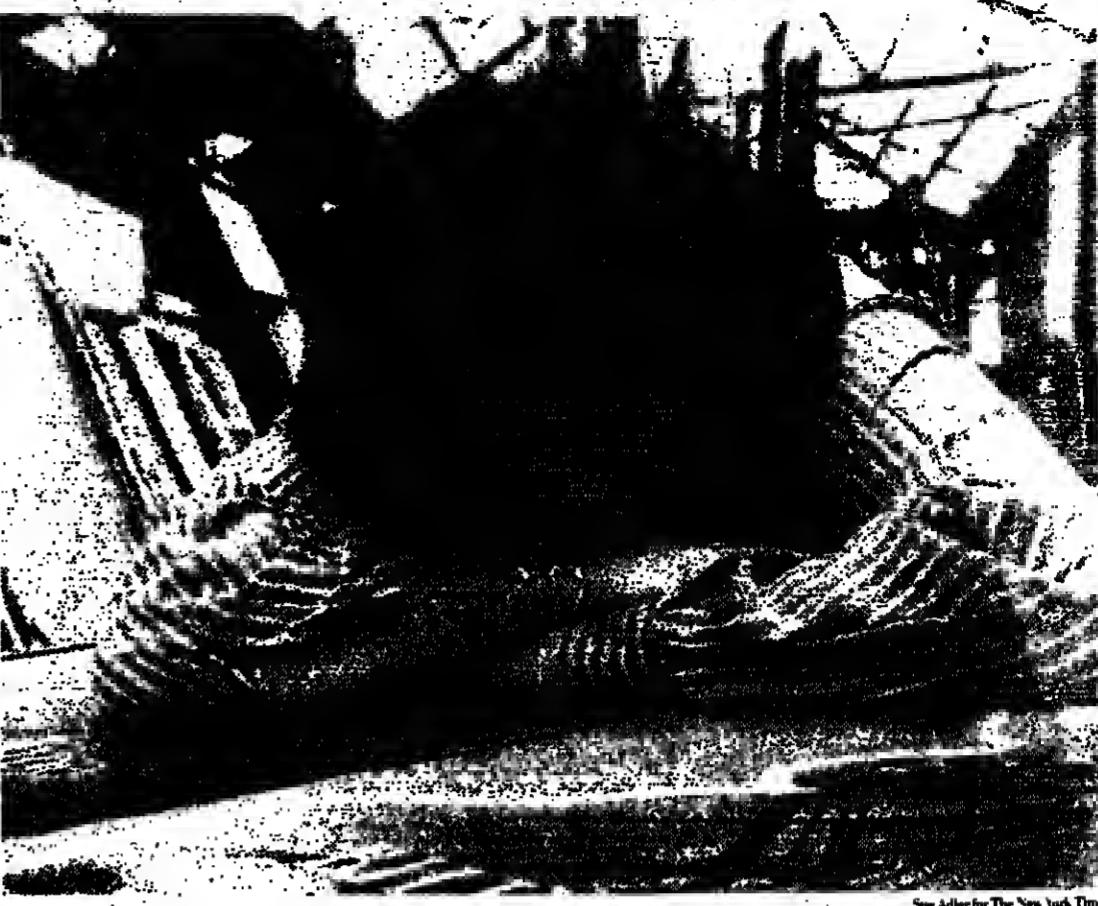
She is more bitter at what she viewed as the lack of support from the Met's top management. "They said they wanted something interesting," she recalled. "They said, 'Come and do something you do really well,' but once they started to get it, they withdrew and I didn't find them very supportive. I'm sure I'll go back to the Met some day. It's just not right now."

She clearly feels more comfortable working in Europe. "People here don't treat opera as this hackneyed instant art form that it is in many parts of America."

In taking on "Billy Budd" at Covent Garden, she was apparently not intimidated by the prospect of being an American producing a major work by a British composer or of being a woman directing a cast of 120 men.

"I have worked in Sicily, in Russia, in places where they look at you and say, 'Oh my God, a woman,' then they just do it," she said with a laugh.

Based on the novella by Herman Melville with a libretto by E.M. Forster and Eric Crozier, Britten's opera recounts how the arrival of a handsome young sailor aboard the HMS Indomitable in 1797 creates an emotional triangle involving Captain Starry Vere, his master-at-arms, John Claggart, and Billy Budd himself.



Francesca Zambello, whose "Lucia" was booed in New York, amid stage props in London.

Claggart's response to his repressed passion for Billy Budd is to accuse him falsely of plotting a mutiny.

When confronted with the charge, the stammering Budd lashes out at Claggart, who falls dead. Vere is then forced to put Budd on trial and reluctantly approve his execution, a decision he forever laments.

When Britten wrote it in 1951, he didn't want to make it clear that it was about homosexuality," Zambello said in an interview in her rented apartment near the Royal Opera House. "Of course it's about homosexuality, but that's because it's more accepted today, so it's easier to put onstage and to make that clear."

Zambello nonetheless avoided introducing any overt sexual gestures, opting instead to create erotic by emphasizing the female side of Billy Budd (sung by Rodney Gilfry, who is the only American in the cast).

"In an isolated society, like ships or prisons, certain

men become the females of that world," Zambello said. "I don't just mean sexually, but also in the way that they give and take love."

She said that while the libretto is full of "silly homosexual humor" in the form of double meanings ("We'll meet them like true British seamen," the chorus sings of a promised battle with the French Navy), she was eager to convey "the profound love" and "rivers of emotion" stirred by Billy Budd in Vere and Claggart.

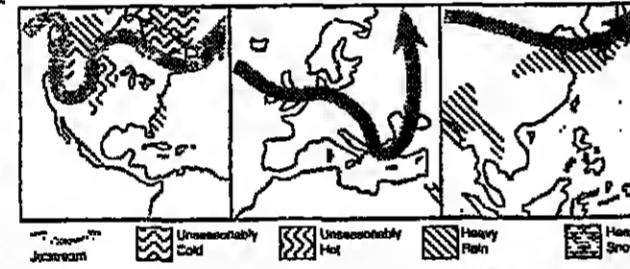
When she tried to inject a dose of Mediterranean sensuality into the chorus, she said, she ran up against some stiff-upper-lip British resistance.

"It's not in the British character to touch each other," she said. "It doesn't take a genius to figure that out. At first, they were apprehensive and distrustful. They wondered, who is this lady from New York? But in the end I think it helped to be a woman."

## WEATHER

Europe		Today			Tomorrow			
		High	Low	W	High	Low	W	
Amsterdam	18°/16°	18	16	C	19°/17°	19	17	C
Antwerp	18°/16°	18	16	C	19°/17°	19	17	C
Austria	27°/25°	27	25	C	27°/25°	27	25	C
Berlin	26°/24°	26	24	C	27°/25°	27	25	C
Bordeaux	26°/24°	26	24	C	27°/25°	27	25	C
Budapest	26°/24°	26	24	C	27°/25°	27	25	C
Brussels	26°/24°	26	24	C	27°/25°	27	25	C
Copenhagen	26°/24°	26	24	C	27°/25°	27	25	C
Danish Del. 26°/24°	26	24	C	27°/25°	27	25	C	
Dublin	18°/16°	18	16	C	19°/17°	19	17	C
Eindhoven	18°/16°	18	16	C	19°/17°	19	17	C
Finnish Del. 26°/24°	26	24	C	27°/25°	27	25	C	
Glasgow	21°/19°	21	19	C	22°/20°	22	20	C
Hamburg	21°/19°	21	19	C	22°/20°	22	20	C
Iceland	14°/12°	14	12	C	15°/13°	15	13	C
London	17°/15°	17	15	C	18°/16°	18	16	C
Lyon	22°/20°	22	20	C	23°/21°	23	21	C
Milan	22°/20°	22	20	C	23°/21°	23	21	C
Munich	22°/20°	22	20	C	23°/21°	23	21	C
Netherlands	22°/20°	22	20	C	23°/21°	23	21	C
Nice	22°/20°	22	20	C	23°/21°	23	21	C
Paris	22°/20°	22	20	C	23°/21°	23	21	C
Rome	22°/20°	22	20	C	23°/21°	23	21	C
Stockholm	17°/15°	17	15	C	18°/16°	18	16	C
Turin	22°/20°	22	20	C	23°/21°	23	21	C
Venice	22°/20°	22	20	C	23°/21°	23	21	C
Vienna	22°/20°	22	20	C	23°/21°	23	21	C
Vienna 22°/20°	22	20	C	23°/21°	23	21	C	
Zurich	22°/20°	22	20	C	23°/21°	23	21	C

Forecast for Tuesday through Thursday, as provided by Accu-Weather.



## Middle East

Europe		Today			Tomorrow			
		High	Low	W	High	Low	W	
Abu Dhabi	30°/28°	30	28	C	31°/29°	31	29	C
Bahrain	30°/28°	30	28	C	31°/29°	31	29	C
Cairo	30°/28°	30	28	C	31°/29°	31	29	C
Carthage	30°/28°	30	28	C	31°/29°	31	29	C
Chesteau	30°/28°	30	28	C	31°/29°	31	29	C
Cyprus	30°/28°	30	28	C	31°/29°	31	29	C
Egyptian Del. 30°/28°	30	28	C	31°/29°	31	29	C	
Gaza Town	30°/28°	30	28	C	31°/29°	31	29	C
Giza	30°/28°	30	28	C	31°/29°	31	29	C
Jerusalem	30°/28°	30	28	C	31°/29°	31	29	C
Khartoum	30°/28°	30	28	C	31°/29°	31	29	C
Lebanon	30°/28°	30	28	C	31°/29°	31	29	C
Lybia	30°/28°	30	28	C	31°/29°	31	29	C